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The Outlook

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DEMOCRACY IN WAR

Alexis de Tocqueville, that famous French traveler, historian, and philosopher, in his "Democracy in America," has the following to say regarding the probable result when democracy goes to war:

"I am therefore of the opinion that, when a democratic people engages in a war after a long peace, it incurs much more risk of defeat than any other nation; but it ought not easily to be cast down by its reverses, for the chances of success for such an army are increased by the duration of the war. When a war has at length, by its long continuance, roused the whole community from their peaceful occupations and ruined their minor undertakings, the same passions which made them attach so much importance to the maintenance of peace will be turned to arms. War, after it has destroyed all modes of speculation, becomes itself the great and sole speculation, to which all the ardent and ambitious desires which equality engenders are exclusively directed. Hence it is that the self-same democratic nations which are so reluctant to engage in hostilities sometimes perform prodigious achievements when once they have taken the field. . . .

"Thus, while the interests and tastes of the members of a democratic community divert them from war, their habits of mind fit them for carrying on war well; they soon make good soldiers, when they are aroused from their business and their enjoyments.

"If peace is peculiarly hurtful to democratic armies, war secures them advantages which no other armies ever possess, and these advantages, however little felt at first, cannot fail in the end to give them the victory. An aristocratic nation, which in a contest with a democratic people does not succeed in ruining the latter at the outset of the war, always runs a great risk of being conquered by it."

Now de Tocqueville was a close observer of the tendencies in men and governments; he perhaps saw more of the latent possibilities in democracy than most other men of his time. He saw that free peoples were filled with almost boundless energy and enthusiasm. He saw, furthermore, that this same spirit of energy and enthusiasm which in times of peace spent itself in the pursuit of commerce and the accumulation of wealth would when turned to the prosecution of a long war acquire in time an almost irresistible momentum. Democracy in its present struggle with autocracy has not yet reached, perhaps, the momentum stage, but it is certainly approaching it. The Prussian host did not ruin its democratic opponents in the summer and fall of 1914, and that gave democracy its chance.

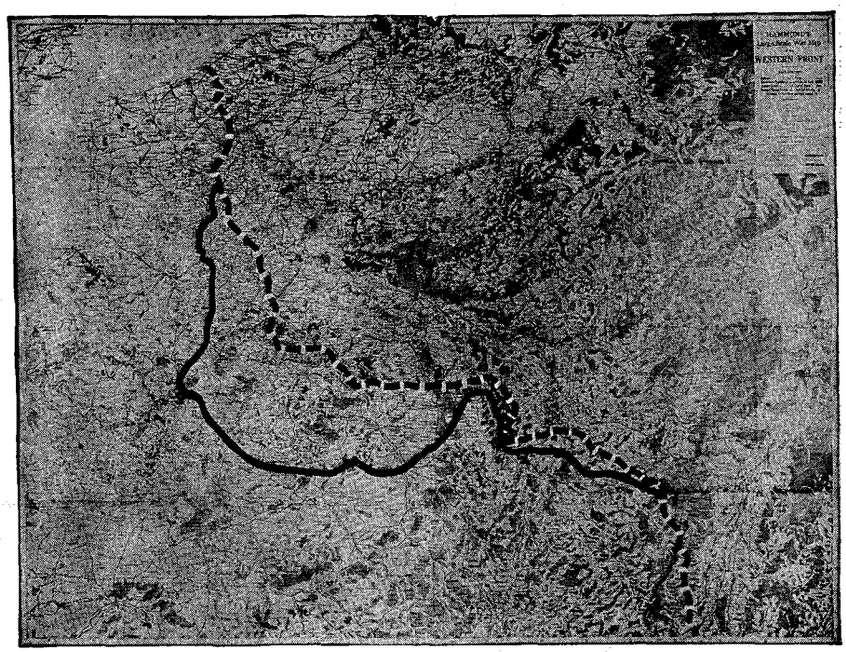
De Tocqueville quaintly remarks in the preface to his volume that men will seldom accept the truth at the hands of their enemies. The Potsdam gang, accordingly, would probably not accept at its face value the philosophy of war as quoted above. But to us it rings true, for history has proved it. Anyhow, it would seem as if all those faint-hearted ones who to-day take alarm at the present seeming success of the German arms might find splendid encouragement in the words of this old philosopher-historian, who saw with the vision of a seer and wrote with the quill of a prophet.

H. J. FENTON.

United States Naval Academy,
Annapolis, Maryland.

This is the Most Complete Single Map of the Western Front

It is 28x36 inches in size, but folds into a convenient cover 5½x7½ inches in size, just right to be carried conveniently in the pocket for frequent consultation. It is printed on excellent paper, and can be had mounted on cloth if desired at slight extra cost. Most existing maps of the Western Front are valueless because they are not indexed, or because they do not contain the smaller places. Neither objection applies to this new map, just published, **so complete that it enables one to read the newspapers understandingly.**



This photograph is not the map itself, but is only a miniature reproduction made to show the vast number of cities, towns, villages and hamlets which appear on this new map. The State of Illinois contains about the same number of square miles as shown on this map, and in Illinois there are less than 1,700 places of 100 or more inhabitants. On this new map in a territory as said above, about the same size as Illinois, **there are shown more than 7,000 places.** This fact alone serves to give some idea of the completeness of this wonderful new map.

The Map

includes practically **every village, town and hamlet** in the territory shown.

In addition to this **vast number of places,** it gives all **woods, fortresses, fortified towns, naval arsenals, forts, redoubts, batteries, aircraft depots, wireless stations** and **railways.**

The **forests and woods** are indicated in **green,** giving the map an **attractive appearance,** and adding a strategical feature of importance.

The scale of the map is **10 miles to the inch.** It extends **west** to Ashford, England; **north** to Antwerp, Belgium; **east** to Frankfort, Germany, and **south** to Orleans, France.

It shows for comparison the **battle line of 1914,** when the Germans were **almost at the gates of Paris. The ground regained by the Allies,** therefore, may be plainly seen.

It is without exception the most satisfactory map of the Western Front which has been engraved. It has been prepared especially to throw light on movements as they occur. It may be examined with ease, for the type is bold and clean cut.

The Index

An index of towns and villages accompanying a map of this kind has been proven **an absolute necessity.** The smaller towns are the ones usually mentioned in the news dispatches. **They are not to be found on ordinary maps,** and the locations of most of them were and still are, utterly unknown to the general public, but **unless their locations are known their strategical importance cannot be grasped.** Nothing is more unsatisfactory than searching all over a map for a small place that may or may not appear upon it. However, this **loss of time and patience is now at an end,** for the **Index which accompanies this map** makes it **vastly more useful and valuable.** The index contains **over 7,000 names.** An idea of the importance of this statement may be gained from the fact that **90 per cent of the war maps available to-day contain less than 500 names.**

This index is bound in with the map and enables one to locate **instantly** any one of the **7,000** places mentioned.

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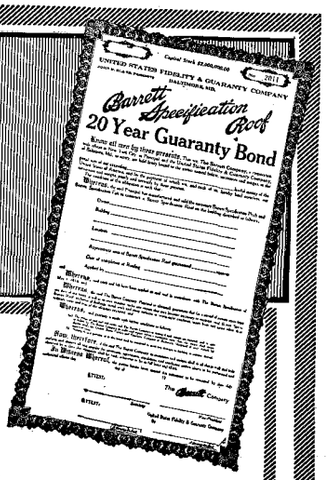

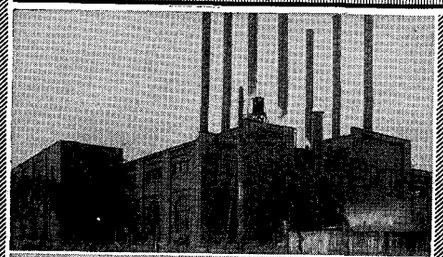

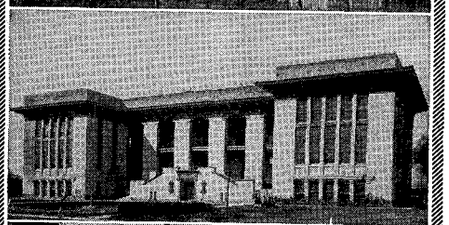

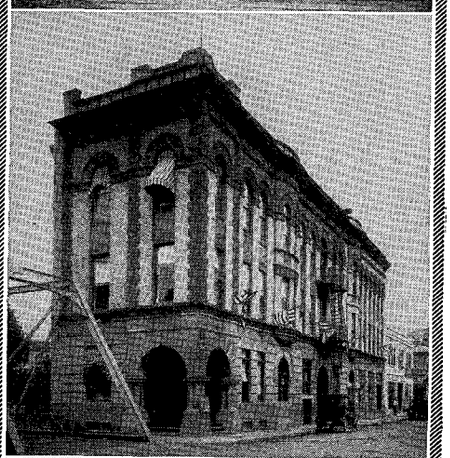

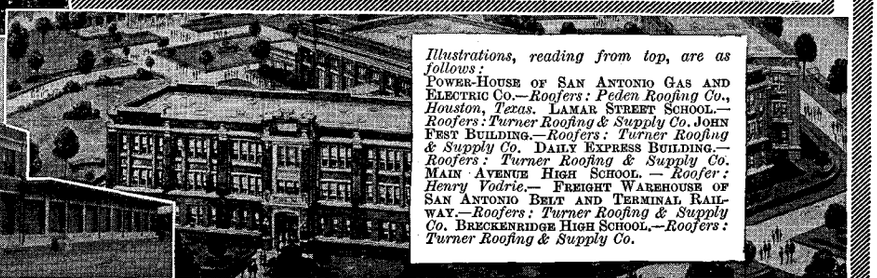

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The Outlook

JANUARY 9, 1918

Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

On account of the war and the consequent delays in the mails, both in New York City and on the railways, this copy of The Outlook may reach the subscriber late. The publishers are doing everything in their power to facilitate deliveries

THE GOVERNMENT BEGINS ITS RAILWAY OPERATION

To the ordinary traveler and even to the ordinary shipper of freight, the transfer of the entire railway property of the United States from private to public management made no obvious difference. Trains ran as usual—except for the extreme cold weather, for which the Government was hardly responsible—and the same conductors punched the same kinds of tickets that they had always punched. Nevertheless, there was a change at once made which is bound to have immediate practical effect.

Mr. McAdoo, the new Director-General of Railroads, promptly declared that priority of shipment over all other commodities should be given to coal. The fuel shortage is so pronounced, on account of the congestion on the railways, that not only is the welfare of the people disturbed through lack of fuel to heat dwellings, but the very production of goods, including munitions, has been threatened for lack of fuel to fire the furnaces of factories. By giving to coal the priority of shipment Mr. McAdoo has recognized the basic quality of this commodity.

More than that. He has made a special and interesting order that affects New York City. As many Americans who have not happened to visit the metropolis may not realize, the only way by which coal can be brought into New York from the South, and specifically from the Pennsylvania fields, has been by conveying it across the Hudson River, or the North River as it is known in New York City. Except for the railway tubes under the river, the only means for carrying it from the New Jersey shore has been by barges. This way requires the unloading of the coal into the barges and then the unloading of it again from the barges.

Mr. McAdoo has ordered that the under-river tubes of the Pennsylvania Railroad, which have been heretofore used practically for passenger service only, be used for coal trains, and that these coal trains be given preference over passenger trains. The astonishing statement is made that this order of Mr. McAdoo's will mean a saving of from three to seven days in distributing coal to consumers.

These two orders issued by Mr. McAdoo are illustrative of the advantage of Government operation. No private railway company could have the authority to issue either of them. Government operation has thus made the impossible possible.

On another page we report various opinions on this new enterprise of the United States Government.

THE RUSSIAN BEAR IN A TRAP

So far as Lenine's Government stands for Russia, there is no hope that western Russia can escape German domination. Whether that domination is military or moral does not much matter. If Lenine declines Germany's terms, German troops can and will occupy Petrograd and Moscow. It might almost be said that there are Russian soldiers but no Russian army on Russia's western front. When the discussion of peace terms is over and the effort to get Russia's betrayed allies to join in the scheme has failed, as fail it must, Lenine's Government, so called, is, we believe, doomed, and Germany will do what she chooses with western Russia. Help must come from the south and east of Russia; those who may perhaps bring it must be adverse to anarchy and Bolshevikism; and, if such an effort gains head, it should be supported by England, France, and America.

England and France have indirectly refused to join Russia and Germany in peace parleying under present conditions. Lloyd George, in a letter to the British National Labor Conference, declared: "Achievement of the purposes for which the Allies are fighting is essential to the future freedom and peace of mankind."

The French Premier, M. Clemenceau, refused to give passports to Petrograd to Socialist delegates to a conference, saying that, if he should, many people would not fail to say that France was taking part in preliminary negotiations for peace, which was in nowise thought of in the absence of any propositions from the enemy.

Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, in his proposal on Christmas Day at Brest-Litovsk, accepted Russia's "basic ideas" of no annexation and no indemnities, but was subtly and intentionally confusing in his comment and definitions. Thus, he declared, first, that the Russian proposals could be realized only in the event that all belligerents obligated themselves to adhere to the terms of such a peace; second, that the Central Powers did not intend forcibly to annex territories seized during the war, nor to deprive nations of political independence lost in the war; and, third, that "the question of the subjection of nationalities who have not political independence to another country cannot be solved internationally, and must be met by each government and its people in the manner established by the constitution of that government." He added, "The protection of the right of minorities is an essential part of the right of peoples to self-definition."

The American Secretary of State has confessed his inability to understand what the quoted phrases mean, and The Outlook joins in this confession.

If the German idea of peace seems impossible of acceptance by Lenine, still more unlikely is it that Germany would accept Russia's terms, for they would check Germany's Mittel-Europa scheme.

We treat of the proposal of peace in an editorial on another page.

THE LAST WEEK OF 1917 ON THE BATTLE-LINES

There were cheering incidents for America's allies in the battling of the week ending January 2. Italy still held its own on the Piave River and in the Asiago region where the Germans and Austrians have now for weeks tried to force their way past the foothills of the Alps and into the Italian plains. Better news than this was that of an attack by French troops in the Piave sector; their success was notable in itself and also as showing Italy and the world that France is ready to take the offensive for Italy. The French army drove back and across the river the Austrians who have long had a lodgment on the farther side; moreover, the French took about 1,400 prisoners and many guns, large and small. The French have also repulsed with their usual firmness a new and violent German thrust at Verdun.

The British on their Cambrai sector finally won back "Welsh Ridge," in a heavy counter-attack following some successes by the Germans in this vicinity. In Palestine, despite activity by

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the Turks, General Allenby has taken three hundred square miles of country and his front is nine miles beyond Jerusalem. A lamentable British loss (on December 22, but just reported) was that of three destroyers and nearly two hundred men off the Dutch coast.

The chief German war exploit of the week seems to have been the destruction by airplane bombs of part of Padua's beautiful cathedral and of other churches and a museum, with the accompanying loss of those works of art which were not capable of removal.

In one sense there is now no Russian battle front. Yet headlines read "Big Losses in Three Days. Battle Near Moscow." Russia's civil war is on, and Kaledine's Cossacks are at least half-way between the Don River and Moscow.

THE LIQUOR QUESTION AND OUR EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

General Pershing has given an interview to representatives of the Associated Press which ought to set at rest the anxiety of those men and women who have been concerned over the fact that the commanding general of our expeditionary forces has permitted the men under him to drink light wines and beers.

It is not always easy to interpret justly the actions of a man when the attendant circumstances are only partly known. For this reason many people familar with conditions in France have been loth to criticise General Pershing's failure to prevent the sale of light wines and beers to his troops. That this instinctive trust in General Pershing's judgment has been justified is now a self-evident fact.

In the interview to which we have already referred General Pershing said:

> The question of prohibiting the sale of all intoxicants to American troops is under discussion with the French Government, but of course there are difficulties here in France that do not exist in the United States. The general order issued December 18 was a long step toward the prevention of drinking among our men.
>
> It was not by any means intended to convey an injunction to the American troops to drink light wine and beer, but quite the reverse. It was drawn to conform to French regulations on the subject.
>
> It stated only that light wine and beer would be permitted and prohibited the purchase of and acceptance of gifts of whisky, brandy, champagne, or similar beverages. It ordered that all drinking places where such articles are sold be forbidden American soldiers. It is the same regulation made in France by the British army and by the French.

General Pershing said that he, personally, was heartily in favor of prohibition for the American expeditionary force, but he pointed out that grave objections existed to the adoption of a policy which would mean the imposition of prohibition upon a foreign country totally unprepared for such a course. The adoption of absolute prohibition within the American forces would mean the closing of all wine-shops in the region where our soldiers operate. The feasibility of such an action can be determined only by those actually on the ground. It is not a decision which can rightly be made by the American Congress.

As The Outlook pointed out last week, General Pershing's original order abolishing the use of heavy liquors was coupled with rigid regulations to prevent the spread of social diseases. General Pershing in his latest interview calls attention to this fact and adds:

> Thus far the record of the army in both respects has been most excellent. It is highly gratifying to me and is a testimonial to the high character of the American soldier. Everything possible is being done to protect his morals and his health, and to make him an honor to himself and his countrymen.

To those who are hastening upon incomplete information to criticise the action of our commander in France we suggest the motto, "Trust Pershing."

A GREAT CITY STRICKEN

On December 30 the wireless brought news from Guatemala of the destruction of the capital of that neighbor Republic. Guatemala City, it is reported, has been completely destroyed by an earthquake, and its population of one hundred and twenty-five thousand made homeless. A message made public by our Navy Department stated that a series of earthquakes, beginning on December 25 and continuing for several days, were responsible for the great disaster. Eighty per cent of the buildings of the city were destroyed in the earlier earthquake, and the remaining buildings brought down in the earth-tremors which followed.

No figures have yet been received as to the extent of the destruction of life, but unless the account of the destruction of property is exaggerated, the loss of life must have been large.

The Navy Department has ordered all United States vessels in the vicinity of the Gulf of Honduras and the Pacific coast of Guatemala to render all the assistance possible to the stricken population. The American Red Cross has made a preliminary appropriation of ten thousand dollars for the immediate purchase of supplies, and a steamer now at a Gulf port is being loaded with large quantities of flour, potatoes, crackers, disinfectants, stores of galvanized iron for temporary buildings, and certain staple foodstuffs, and will set sail for Barrios, on the east coast of Guatemala, as soon as possible. The American Minister to Guatemala has also been asked to organize a relief committee among the American residents of that city.

Guatemala City was situated about five thousand feet above sea level in a wide table-land traversed by the Rio de Las Vacas. Deep ravines surround this table-land and beyond it high mountains rise on every side. Guatemala City was three times as large as any other city in the Republic. It was laid out with wide, regular streets, many of which were planted with avenues of trees. Most of the houses of the city were only of one story, but they were solidly and comfortably constructed and frequently surrounded by large gardens and courts. The theater, which is reported to have collapsed while occupied by a large audience, was one of the best in Central America. Guatemala City has been called the Paris of Central America. The chief trade of the city has been centered largely in coffee.

Guatemala City was the third capital of the country, the two earlier capitals having been successively destroyed by a volcanic deluge of water and an earthquake. The city which has now been destroyed became the seat of government in 1779. It suffered severely from earthquake in 1874. In less troubled times its destruction would have rivaled the destruction of Messina or of St. Pierre as a matter of international concern.

EARNED AND UNEARNED INCOMES

The present War Revenue Law imposes a so-called "excess profits" tax of eight per cent on all earned incomes over $6,000; this in addition to the heavy income tax.

Let us suppose that a lawyer or clergyman, a physician or dentist, has worked his way up in his profession enough to receive $10,000 a year. He pays his individual income tax on the $10,000 and this tax of eight per cent on everything over $6,000 in excess of his deductions. The provision was doubtless aimed at the professional men who enjoy abnormally large incomes, such as corporation lawyers with their rumored $100,000 fees.

The provision was adopted in the final hours of a committee conference of Congress, and was so framed as apparently to exempt members of Congress from its operation. Since then members of Congress have been hearing from their constituents as to the justice of such an exemption. The result was that the Representatives thereupon voted distinctly to include themselves, and, so that they might have good company in their resolution, they also subjected Federal officers and employees to the operation of this tax. Thus it now includes among others the President of the United States, with a salary of $75,000; the Vice-President and the Cabinet officers, each with a salary of $12,000; the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, with a salary of $15,000; the Associate Justices, each with a salary of $14,500; and the Circuit Court Judges, each with a salary of $7,000.

We are glad that the Congressmen are willing to assume the obligations which they would place on other men. But, after having thus put themselves on record, they might well have repealed the whole provision.

It provides for a vicious tax. It puts an extra penalty on

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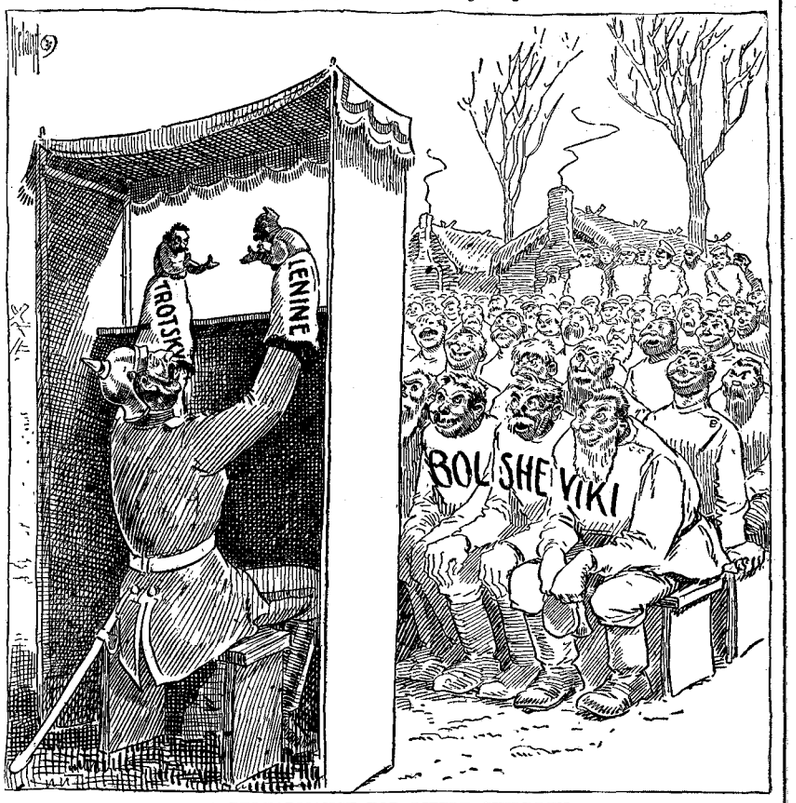
CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

LIKE EVERYTHING ONE GETS FOR NOTHING

Ireland in the Columbus Evening Dispatch



A PERFORMANCE FOR LITTLE CHILDREN

THE TRAGI-COMEDY IN RUSSIA

From L'Asino (Rome)

THE BARBARIC INVASION

SOME OF THE BEAUTIES OF ITALY AT THE PRESENT TIME

Kirby in the New York World

THE ROOKIE

UNCLE SAM'S NEWEST SOLDIER

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incomes derived from brains compared to those derived from invested capital. Incomes from invested capital may, it is true, belong to those who are running up incomes by their own exertions; but such incomes may also belong to the idle rich, to those who merely sit at their desks and clip coupons, to those with no purposeful occupations, to those of no particular use to the community. If not to-day, the day will come when the Government will have to discriminate between earned and unearned incomes.

It ought to be a fundamental principle of taxation that the Government should impose a higher rate on incomes from investment than on incomes from brains and industry. Certainly incomes earned by the efforts of individuals and where no capital is invested ought not to be regarded as excess profits or taxed as such.

The worst of this provision is that though it pretends to be an "excess profits" tax, it is nothing of the sort. No matter what the individual earned before the war, the entire income above the sum of $6,000 bears the unusually heavy and discriminating tax of eight per cent. It is not a tax on war profits in any sense whatever. It is a special additional income tax without reason laid upon a special class.

To our regret, Representative Longworth's amendment to rectify the excess profits tax was defeated. This may not mean its final defeat, however. We hope that it will pass the Senate and be reconsidered in the House. If not, as Representative Lenroot remarked during the debate, "We will take it to the people of the country in the next election."

THE NEGRO AND THE WAR

An appeal has come to The Outlook from a Negro lawyer of New York, Mr. Charles A. Smythwick, which ought to receive very careful consideration of an un-Congressional variety.

Mr. Smythwick begins by the assertion that less than half of the ten million Negroes in the United States are at the present time co-operating with the Government. If we grant the correctness of his estimate, we can readily agree with his further statement that such a state of affairs "raises a serious question—serious, because the Nation cannot dispense with the services of four or five million citizens in this crisis." Our correspondent states that the situation which he condemns has not been caused by any lack of patriotism among our Negro citizens, but from the fact that American Negroes have been made to feel that their assistance was not wanted.

It is in no spirit of racial antagonism that the criticism of the present conditions is made. "If we are defeated in this war," we are told, "race prejudice, social equality, superiority or inferiority between man and man, will not matter; in that case we shall all—superior and inferior—go down to one common ruin." Manifestations of race prejudice our correspondent condemns, not because of their effect upon his own race, but chiefly because of their effect upon the war. He points out that unfairness to his people at the present time disturbs labor conditions, prevents Negro soldiers from throwing their hearts into their work, and results in the wasting of valuable resources in food and supplies.

Specifically he points out some of the ways in which Negroes have been made to feel that their aid was not wanted:

> The agents sent out by the Government to sell Liberty bonds, to conserve the food supply, and to husband the material resources of the Nation in general have paid scant attention to the Negroes. A Negro woman complained to the writer a few days ago that she was in a certain theater in New York City on the night before the last day of the Liberty bond campaign, when an agent was present soliciting subscribers for Liberty bonds. There were five other Negroes besides her present; the agent solicited subscriptions from all the persons present except those six Negroes.
>
> None of these Negroes had bought a Liberty bond up to that time; and so far as the writer has been able to find out only one of them bought Liberty bonds the following day, which was the last opportunity. . . . So little attention was paid to Negroes in the campaign for the Second Liberty Loan that "Harlem," in New York City, the richest Negro district in the world, was not canvassed. So completely was this district ignored that even in the height of the canvass one would not have ascertained that the campaign to sell Liberty bonds was in progress from a visit to this district. It is intolerable that so much material help should be thrown away when it is so sorely needed.

Surely such a plea to be permitted to help should not fall on deaf ears. It is not often that a nation is criticised for asking too little rather than too much from its citizens.

SOME DIFFICULTIES OF WEEKLY JOURNALISM

In these stirring times, when things of great importance in the world history are happening every day, the trials of the editors of a weekly newspaper like The Outlook are greatly augmented. The last forms of The Outlook go to press about ten or eleven o'clock on Wednesday evening of each week. Our composing-room is kept open to this hour on Wednesdays in order that the latest possible news may reach our readers. Sometimes an event so important happens on Thursday, after the edition is on the press, that we stop the presses, take out a form of two or three pages, reshape and recast it. Usually this can be done without delay or mishap in getting the edition promptly to our subscribers, but in the issue of The Outlook for last week, January 2, a slight mishap did occur. The announcement of the President's taking over the railways of the country was not made until Thursday morning, December 27. The edition of The Outlook dated January 2 was then in process of being printed. We stopped the presses, took out from the forms one or two articles and substituted an article on the new policy of Federal railway control as announced by the President. In making this change, through one of those mishaps which sometimes happen even in the best-regulated newspaper offices—mishaps which the New York "Sun" used to ascribe to the "office cat"—some defective copies of The Outlook, lacking the editorial article on "Government Operation of the Railways," were mailed before the defect was discovered and remedied. The defective copies were only a few hundred in number, but each one must have been as annoying to the recipient as though a million had been printed. We shall be glad to mail perfect copies of that issue to those of our subscribers who may be good enough to notify us that their copy was misprinted.

NEW LANDS IN THE ARCTIC

In our picture section this week will be found a portrait of the famous Arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson, whose safe arrival at Herschel Island has been followed by news of him from Melville Island, in Alaska. Both despatches seem to have come by means of a trading vessel.

The later message is extremely interesting and records in detail a new Arctic exploit, namely, the discovery by Stefansson in the summer of 1916 of several small islands and of one of comparatively large size. This larger island has its southwest corner in latitude 79° 50′ north and longitude 102° west, and reaches northward for about two degrees. Mr. Stefansson also extended very largely his knowledge of the land which he discovered in 1915.

It is supposed that Stefansson has arrived at Fort Yukon in Alaska, which is about two hundred and fifty miles southwest of Herschel Island. He reports that Captain Beneard, of the Mary Sachs, and a Norwegian named Thomsen lost their lives in trying to bring mail to Melville Island in 1916; otherwise Captain Stefansson's long and arduous Arctic exploration seems to have been without serious illness or any disaster.

It is almost exactly four years and a half since Stefansson started on his journey to the Far North. During this time he has been heard from only once, in 1915, when he sent the news of his first discovery of new land.

As we pointed out in an article printed in The Outlook about a year ago called "An Explorer who Feared to Cross Broadway," Stefansson first became known to the general public in 1910 because of his discovery of the so-called White Eskimos of Victoria Island. He is an American citizen, born in Canada of Icelandic parents, and previous to his discovery of the blond Eskimos had traveled among the Eskimos of the Mackenzie River and had studied them in detail. His prime principle in traveling among the people of the Far North has been to live as the natives live and to carry the slightest possible amount of food, clothing, and equipment.

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AN ANSWER TO A PROPOSAL OF PEACE

RECENTLY in an American city the police were notified that murder had been committed in a club known to be a criminal resort. When they went to investigate, the door was barred against them and their demand for admission was met with rifle shots from the building, which killed one of the police. Attack on a brick building with clubs and rifles was impossible. The police brought a cannon from a near-by armory and threatened to batter the building down. Then the club members came tumbling out. But the club leader remained. He declared that he would not be taken alive. He was mistaken. He was found hiding in a neighbor's cellar, and is awaiting the judgment of the Court. The city authorities were probably to blame for the conditions which made the criminal club possible. The police probably were not saints. To disturb the repose of the city by the bombardment of one of its houses was a disaster to be avoided if it was avoidable. Nevertheless there was only one answer to the request for terms—unconditional surrender. We tell the story as we recall the report given in a daily newspaper. The parallel is plain, the meaning of the parable clear.

Three and a half years ago two criminal nations declared war against Europe. Their neighbors besought them to submit the issue to arbitration. They refused arbitration. Their neighbors besought them to confer in an endeavor to find a road to peace with justice. They refused conference. Austria made war on little Serbia; then Germany and Austria made war on Russia because Russia came to the defense of Serbia; then on France because France would not pledge herself not to come to the aid of Russia; then on Belgium because Belgium would not violate her pledge of neutrality; then on Great Britain because Great Britain came to the defense of her allies; then by treachery swept Turkey into the maelstrom despite the interests and without the consent of her people, and sought to incite her to a world-wide religious war—Mohammedanism against Christendom.

In this war the chief criminal has violated the four fundamental laws of social morality:

(1) Thou shalt not kill: She has murdered in cold blood thousands of peaceful citizens.

(2) Thou shalt not steal: She has robbed industry, and what she could not carry off she has wantonly destroyed.

(3) Thou shalt not commit adultery: She has given military support, if not official sanction, to rape.

(4) Thou shalt not bear false witness. She has lied openly, flagrantly, brazenly.

She has been a robber on land, a pirate on the seas. Her crimes have been so efficiently, so courageously, so magnificently perpetrated that they have dazzled the eyes and dulled the conscience of some of our moral mentors. But they have not obscured the vision of the plain people.

But she has not succeeded. Her booty has not enriched her. She has impoverished herself while despoiling her neighbors. Her unsuccessful crimes have united all Christendom against her. Among the Christian nations she has not a friend. All peoples, including her own, are weary of the war. She now proposes to the mob which masquerades as a government in the Russian capital the restoration of peace without annexations and without indemnities. What answer should Christian civilization make to this proposal? The people may leave their Governments to put the answer of the nations in diplomatic terms. But if we understand the public sentiment of the men who are fighting the world's battles for liberty, and of the fathers and mothers who sent them to the field, their answers, in diplomatic phrase, would be something like this:

We do not want your promises. You break them.

Nor your treaties. You disregard them.

We cannot deal with you as a moral nation. Your most popular philosopher has declared that the moral law is not obligatory, and you have accepted and acted on the philosophy.

Withdraw your armed forces from all European territory which you now occupy. Withdraw your Zeppelins from the air and your submarines from the sea. Disband your armies. Dismantle your fleet. Then we will talk with you, not before. But we will tell the people—our own people, your people, the people of the world—what we want and what we do not want.

We do not want your territory. We do not want to govern your people. We leave your punishment to natural causes—that is, to God. We leave you to reap as you have sown. That we cannot prevent. We do not wish to interfere with the management of your own affairs, and we shall not interfere except as interference may be necessary to undo the wrongs you have perpetrated and to protect other peoples from future aggression. We do not propose when this war ends to initiate a commercial war against you; but we mean to maintain, with or without your aid, the freedom of the seas.

We will not return your colonies to you. You are not fit to govern dependent peoples nor to prepare them for self-government.

You cannot undo the evil you have done. You cannot restore the dead to life, nor the fields you have devastated to fruitfulness, nor the cities, churches, and libraries you have in mere wantonness destroyed; nor put back into the mountains the coal and iron you have carried off. We do not demand of you the impossible. But you must restore the booty you have taken to enrich your own cities. You must repair, as far as reparation is within your power, the hideous wrongs you have committed; and you must be prepared to do whatever we think is necessary to protect the world's peace from you in the future. This will not be a matter for conference between us. It will be a matter for our decision and your acceptance.

Some of our contemporaries both at home and abroad desire the Allies to make official reply to the proposals which Austria has made to the Russian Bolsheviki. Such a reply might unify the forces of justice and disintegrate the forces of crime. Whether the German people have been deluded or terrorized, they have been apparently united in the past. They are certainly discontented now. As they do not enjoy the privileges, so they do not bear the responsibilities, of a free people. We ask no privileges for ourselves which we do not desire for them. We ask no more for the world than German freemen asked for themselves in the futile revolution of 1848, no more than German Social Democrats have asked for themselves in the years that followed that revolution. But what they humbly asked for themselves, we imperatively demand for the world. Our quarrel is with their masters.

What Edmund Burke said nearly a century and a quarter ago is equally applicable to-day: "We are at war with a system, which, by its essence, is inimical to all other governments, and which makes peace or war, as peace and war may best contribute to their subversion. It is with an armed doctrine that we are at war."

With a power armed to enforce that doctrine on the civilized world, the power that Dr. van Dyke has rightly called the "predatory Potsdam gang," the civilized world neither can nor ought to make peace.

FREE POLAND

The story of Poland is one of the most romantic in the entire history of modern Europe. Less than two hundred years ago Poland was one of the great kingdoms of northeastern Europe. Without going into historical details, which would take far more space than we have at our command, it may be said that, partly owing to the clash of social forces like that which has so shaken Russia, and partly owing to the great military transformation in Europe just preceding the Napoleonic era, the Kingdom of Poland was divided into three parts in the latter half of the eighteenth century, one part being taken over by Russia, one by Austria, and one by Prussia.

The spirit of Poland since the Middle Ages has been a peculiarly democratic spirit. The kings of Poland, for example, were elected by the people. The assembly of the nobles which governed Poland was conducted on the principle which is familiar to Americans as the principle of the New England town meeting, where every individual came in, expressed his own views, and even to a remarkable extent had a veto power. After the first partition of Poland there was still a small section of the

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country left independent, but the Constitution, indeed the whole tendency, of this small independent part was so liberal and democratic that the autocratic powers of Europe a century ago foresaw that it threatened danger to their institutions, and its independence was taken away. The result is that, while to-day there is no such thing as a geographical or a political Poland, there is a Polish nation with traditions, customs, and spirit founded in freedom and desiring to perpetuate freedom. It was believed by Russia, Prussia, and Austria—less by Austria, perhaps, than by the other two—that the partition of Poland would destroy its national spirit. By what was probably a tacit agreement, the autocratic powers of Russia and Prussia forbade the use of the Polish language in the schools, in public gatherings, and even in public prayers of the people. But, instead of crushing the national spirit, this method, as we have seen in recent times in Belgium, only increased the national spirit. Thus we have to-day what may be called the Polish question. That question is, What shall be the status of the Polish people as a result of the great European war?

Unfortunately, during the last century many of the histories that have been used in the schools of the United States and of England have been based on German sources. We now know enough about the influence of German autocracy upon the education of Germans during the forty years since the Franco-Prussian War to know that the purpose of German historians has been to teach that the Polish people are highly emotional, unstable, disputatious, and therefore incapable of governing themselves. Americans, unfortunately, have shared in this impression in spite of the fact that they were aware that in the field of literature and art and military gallantry Poland has produced many great figures. There comes to the mind of the well-read American in science the name of Copernicus, in music the names of Chopin and Paderewski, in literature the name of Sienkiewicz, in military courage in the cause of freedom the names of Kosciuszko and Pulaski—all Poles. It is clear that a nation which can produce such great figures as these is not so barbarous as to be incapable of self-government.

So we come to the present situation. Americans are deeply interested in justice to Belgium and to Serbia, for during the three years of the war they have begun to understand their situation. They ought also to have the same deep interest in the present plight and the desired future of Poland.

To promote an understanding of the Polish question and so to direct the efforts of the Poles during the war that after peace may be declared Poland shall again take its place among the free nations of the world, a Polish National Committee has been formed, with its executive seat in Paris. The distinguished Polish artist Paderewski, who has won his way to the affections of the American people as one of the greatest musicians of modern times, is the representative of this Committee in the United States. Last autumn Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State, wrote to Mr. Paderewski a letter from which we quote the following sentences:

> I beg to inform you that on October 19, 1917, the American Ambassador at Paris forwarded the request of Mr. Dmowski, President of the Polish National Committee there, that the United States Government recognize that Committee as an official Polish organization. On November 10, 1917, I took pleasure in instructing the American Ambassador at Paris to extend the desired recognition of the Government of the United States.

To this official recognition of the "Polish question" by the Government of the United States the Polish National Committee desires to add the popular recognition and sympathy of the people of the United States. The prime purpose of the Polish National Committee, and the Polish patriots who are co-operating with it, is to make it clear to the world that no just peace can be established until the Polish question is properly solved. That solution is the re-establishment of Poland by a reunion of the three parts now under Russian, Prussian, and Austrian domination. It is not a matter of importance at the moment whether this re-establishment of Poland shall take the form of a republic or a constitutional monarchy, but it is important that the Poles shall be united and free to determine for themselves what kind of government they will have. Through German sources of information there seems to have come a prevailing impression in the United States that the Polish nation is small—one not larger in numbers and territory, for example, than Serbia. The fact is that Poland when reunited would be one of the most homogeneous peoples in Europe, for it would have a territorial area considerably larger than that of France; in it there would be over thirty millions of people speaking pure Polish, and in addition other ethnic strains like the Slovaks, who practically speak Polish. Is not the question whether thirty millions of people of the same racial stock and speaking the same language shall come justly to their own, which has been taken away from them by despotic military power, one of the great questions of the war?

The question may be raised as to why we say that there are thirty million people speaking pure Polish in the territory which should form an independent Poland when the figures in so good an authority as the "Statesman's Year Book" of England give the number of Polish-speaking people in what are commonly regarded as the Polish provinces of Russia, Prussia, and Austria as twenty millions. The explanation is simple. Polish statistics, as we have already intimated, largely come from German sources and it is to the political interest of Austria and Germany, as it was before the war to the Romanoff dynasty, to make the number of ethnically distinct Poles as small as possible. Moreover, the statistics in the "Statesman's Year Book" account only for Galicia (or Austrian Poland), Posen (or Prussian Poland), and so-called Russian Poland, often spoken of as the Vistula province. There are in addition the provinces of East Prussia (where all the peasants even under the strict control of Germany speak Polish), and Lithuania, Podolya, and Volhynia, the last three being under Russian control. If the inhabitants of these provinces, which should rightly form an integral part of the new Poland, are taken into account, the total number of Polish-speaking people in what is rightly Polish territory would undoubtedly amount to about thirty millions.

Americans have been puzzled somewhat by the fact that about a year ago Prussia announced that she had created an independent Polish kingdom. What she did was to organize a scrap of Russian Poland which she had captured from Russia into a fictitious or paper state for the sake of impressing her own people, and possibly the rest of the world, that she was in favor of Polish liberty. It was really nothing but an exanple of Prussian camouflage. She tried to organize an army of 500,000 Poles from the inhabitants of this conquered territory. After weeks of work and propaganda she obtained only five hundred recruits!

It is interesting to compare this deceptive and futile effort of Prussia with the work of the Polish National Committee in the United States, which has already gathered a contingent of ten thousand American Poles who, with the permission of the American Government, are now training in a camp at Fort Niagara in New York State and Niagara-on-the-Lake on the Canadian side. It was not a question with the National Polish Committee of how many recruits they could get, but how they could check the various volunteers who wished to join this contingent. For when Paderewski sounded the "call to arms" the volunteers were so numerous that there was neither equipment nor barrack camps to take care of them. It may surprise some of the readers of The Outlook to know that there are in the United States four million Polish-speaking people. Of these, fifty thousand have already either volunteered or responded to the draft and are in the service of the American Army. The Polish contingent in training at Fort Niagara and Niagara-on-the-Lake is composed of men who are not subject, because of age, to the United States service, although many are citizens of the United States. This Polish contingent, now in training under American, Polish, and Canadian officers, with the general supervision of the French Military Attaché in the United States, has been accepted by the French Government as a unit of the French army. The uniform is a French uniform of the bluish-gray cloth which is employed by France. But there are certain insignia on the uniform which mark the contingent as a Polish contingent. For example, the officers wear the Polish white eagle on the collar. On the arm, on a magenta silk brassard, magenta being the Polish national color, a silver white eagle is embroidered. This contingent will be under the command of the French General Staff, but as a mark of recognition of Polish nationalism by France and her allies the officers immediately in

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command will use the Polish language and the unit will carry and fight under the Polish banner of the White Eagle.

In view of these facts, how is it possible for the Government of the Entente Allies to take the peace proposals just made by Count Czernin, of Austria, seriously? For neither Austria nor Prussia has shown the slightest desire to relinquish despotic control over the millions of Polish people whom they govern wholly by conquest. Polish citizens and residents in the United States are confident that President Wilson and our Government are fully determined to accept no terms of peace which do not include a restitution of the rights of Poland. It is not alone humanity and justice that demand this, but also military expediency. For European peace can never be established on a firm basis until the Polish question is rightly solved.

HARBORING A FRIEND OF THE ENEMY

So long as we remain at peace with Bulgaria we are allowing Germany to keep an agent for propaganda and information at the very center of our Government. We are even surrounding Germany's agent with diplomatic privileges and immunities. The Government of Bulgaria wants Germany to win, and is helping Germany; and yet we allow the Government of Bulgaria to have its Minister at Washington and its consuls in various parts of the country. What kind of service the Bulgarian Minister is performing for Germany will be told next week in The Outlook in an article by Demetra Vaka.

We ought to declare war on Bulgaria at once.

MAKING BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW

WHAT THE CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR IS DISCOVERING

TO follow the trail of the Senatorial Investigating Committees which are trying to determine the wherefore of the undeniable shortage of supplies for our troops is like following a spider web from its outer edge to the home of its creator. Just as all the strands of a spider web lead at last to the center, so do all the lines of inquiry into the shortage of military supplies lead at last to the War Department at Washington and to the officials who have tangled their struggling subordinates in a web of red tape as securely as any spider ever entangled a fly.

It is of course not at all fair to charge the present Administration with the appointment to office of many of the men within the War Department who have, to say the least, conclusively demonstrated their inability to live up to the demands of the present situation. The Democratic Administration inherited the War Department bureaucracy from Mr. Wilson's predecessors in office. The country has a right to hold the Administration responsible for the continuance of incompetent officials in office in the face of an emergency which has tested our war-making powers as these powers were never, and never could be, tested in time of peace.

The cost of the state of unpreparedness permitted to exist even after the outbreak of the world war in 1914 becomes daily more painfully evident. Two striking instances of what this lack of preparedness has cost the country were recounted to a Senatorial Investigating Committee by Major-Generals William M. Wright and Edwin St. John Greble, commanding officers at Camp Doniphan, at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and Camp Bowie, at Fort Worth, Texas.

General Greble told of his efforts to secure from the War Department enough clothing to supply his troops with the minimum amount required to maintain their health. He told how he had warned the War Department that the lack of clothing would result in serious loss of life. In September he sent word to four War Department officials informing them fully of the conditions in his camp, but he failed to get any action before November 14. He recounted the fact that he had reported to the War Department that he was forced to put twelve men within tents designed to accommodate eight men. Any one who has slept in an army tent knows that the placing of twelve cots within its narrow walls requires the abandonment of practically the whole floor space to sleeping purposes. It means that twelve men are compelled to sleep as closely together as though the whole tent were one large bed.

General Greble stated that he informed the War Department of the crowded conditions within his encampment on September 11, and that on November 14 he received a telegram from the Adjutant-General (in reply to his letter of September 11) telling him to put fewer men in the tents!

Figures make dull reading, but it is worth while to record here the percentage of equipment needed at Camp Bowie as compared with the actual amount of equipment provided for the troops stationed there. The shortage of equipment is made clear by the following figures. The percentages given represent the amounts of material *lacking:*

Rifles, 59 per cent; bayonets, 65 per cent; pistols, 86 per cent; cartridge belts, 59 per cent; machine guns, none on hand (twenty Colts shipped); automatic rifles, 88 per cent; 3-inch guns, 88 per cent; 6-inch howitzers, none on hand; 1-pounder cannon, none on hand; artillery harness, 92 per cent; horse equipment, 81 per cent; infantry equipment (this includes haversacks, first aid pouches, and canteens), 78 per cent; small arms ammunition, 75 per cent; artillery ammunition, 90 per cent. In addition there are no live grenades and none of the special carts, including rolling kitchens.

Similar testimony was given by Major-General Wright concerning conditions at Camp Doniphan, Oklahoma. At Camp Doniphan are stationed some 24,000 men and nearly a thousand officers. At this camp serious shortage in clothing has resulted in an inexcusable number of deaths. Winter clothing has, however, now been provided and great improvement in the health of the soldiers has been noted. But the shortage of ordnance supplies still continues. Among the articles of equipment lacking at present are more than 5,000 rifles, 10,000 automatic pistols, 9,000 bayonets, 160,000 bayonet scabbards, 16,000 haversacks, 12,000 cartridge belts, 56 batteries of artillery, and 234 machine guns.

The shortage of such equipment means a psychological loss almost comparable to the physical loss. A soldier must not only be supplied with equipment when he needs it for purposes of drill and instruction, but he is very much further along in his development as a soldier if he is provided with equipment which he can regard as his own peculiar property, and which he can cherish as such.

A writer in the New York "Sun" quoted a retired colonel in the United States Army as commenting upon the testimony which has recently been heard within the halls of the Capitol in the following language:

"I wish some of the Senators who were asking Greble and Wright why an enlisted man couldn't be trained as well with a broomstick as with a regulation rifle could know just a little bit what a West Pointer learns when he joins his first command.

"Let me tell you: An infantryman's rifle is to him what his favorite bat is to a baseball player. And then some. An enlisted man will fight e n his bunkie quicker than you can drop a hat for monkeying with his rifle. He knows there is no other rifle just like it in the world. As a matter of fact, no two rifles are precisely alike, and a soldier finds more difference in rifles than a batsman finds in bats. He studies all its little peculiarities until he thinks of them as evidences of human temperament. He actually believes they are. . . .

"Broomsticks! Why, a recruit is not a soldier until he has lived a year with a rifle, and will fight for her reputation."

The shortage of overcoats which caused such suffering to the men at Camp Bowie and Camp Doniphan is even less excusable, perhaps, than the shortage of military equipment of a more

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technical variety. Any American familiar with our National disregard of military preparation can find a dozen reasons why we should not have been able to manufacture arms and ammunition upon an instantaneous demand—even though that instant happened to be nine months long. But in the matter of overcoats our civilian requirements have caused us to develop a vast machinery for the manufacture of woolen cloth which ought to have been available without serious delay for the creation of the necessary military supplies. We have, too, in this country a great industry devoted to the manufacture of ready-made clothing of all kinds, an industry which, it seems to the lay mind, might have been mobilized for the present emergency with considerably less creaking of official wheels than has been manifest.

According to testimony given before an investigating committee, General Sharpe was generally empowered by the Secretary of War to let contracts on last April 4 for two million overcoats. Yet Senator McKellar has received telegrams from the commanding officers of eight camps stating that they are short some forty-six thousand woolen overcoats, and General Sharpe has himself admitted that the army is to-day short one hundred thousand overcoats of the number required for the clothing of the men now in the service. Orders have, it is said, been placed for overcoats for about a million and a half men, but the Senatorial investigation has so far developed no information of the existence of a really business-like plan within the War Department looking towards the actual co-ordination of the call which is bringing this large number of men into the service and an available supply of clothing necessary to keep these men in health.

In addition to the revelations before the Senatorial Committee of inadequate management within the War Department a striking instance of the workings of the bureaucratic mind was made manifest on a recent occasion to the citizens of the town of Raritan, New Jersey.

Into this town drifted the other day a number of recruits from all over the country, stating that they had been ordered to report at an ordnance depot at Raritan for duty. The citizens of Raritan would have been very glad to provide these soldiers with the object of their desires, but, so far as they knew, no ordnance depot existed within the boundaries of their town. They did, however, take the soldiers into their homes and provide for them until the mystery was unraveled.

It later became known that the ordnance depot to which the men had been ordered was in process of construction at Metuchen, New Jersey, some miles from the town of Raritan, but situated on the Raritan River. It seems that the War Department had been under the illusion that it possessed an ordnance depot at Raritan for several weeks, for mail had been received at the Raritan post-office addressed to the non-existent depot covering the period of nearly one month. Just as fast as it had been received it had been returned to the War Department marked "Misdirected."

When the War Department learned that it had no depot at Raritan and that the depot at Metuchen was not yet ready for the troops assigned to it, the War Department quickly decided to transfer its soldiers elsewhere and to telegraph the draft boards previously ordered to assign men to Raritan to regard these orders as canceled. General Crozier reported to the Senate that the explanation for the mistake was as follows:

> One of the seven hundred of the younger ordnance officers who have been assigned to duty in the department evidently took too literally a promise that the barracks would be ready last week. I find that the word was communicated to the Draft Boards to send men to Raritan, so as to be on hand when the base is completed. They ought to have been directed to Metuchen instead. But I am told the barracks there are not quite ready. It was a mistake that was corrected as soon as we learned of the advance guard of soldiers arriving at Raritan.
>
> We've headed the others off. They won't be sent there until the barracks at Metuchen are ready.

The explanation is published here for what it is worth.

THE RAILWAYS AND THE GOVERNMENT

A POLL OF PUBLIC OPINION

GOVERNMENT operation of the railways has been the subject of political discussion in America for many years. Now it has become suddenly an accomplished fact.

Many Americans, naturally conservative, have regarded the proposal that the Government operate the railways as the suggestion of a dangerous Socialistic experiment. Now war has created conditions which have made the transfer of the railways from private to public management a necessity.

In order to ascertain how this revolutionary change has affected public opinion in America we have sought for the expression of views from a representative Socialist organ, from representatives of organized labor, from railway operators, from newspapers and individuals who have the point of view of the capitalist, and representative newspapers of the North, the South, and the West.

THE OPINION OF THE SOCIALISTS

Concerning a change which only a few years ago would have been widely regarded as Socialistic, it is natural to inquire what the Socialists think. Perhaps as representative as any Socialist organ is the New York "Call." This paper is inclined to be slightly ironical in the course of its remarks. It says:

> Labor—resentful, sullen, implacable labor! And those awful brotherhoods of railroad trainmen that have come so near upsetting society with their insatiable demands! Those children of the horse-leech, continually crying "Give!" What about them? Look at them now! All their greed and rapacity has fallen from them as filthy rags, and they now stand forth in the shining raiment of economic righteousness! Oppose Mr. McAdoo? No, sir! They are loyal and patriotic men, and they will make no demands that will embarrass the Administration. They will stand by Mr. McAdoo to the last man. They are confident that the Government will give them a square deal in the matter of wages. Slaves of the State? Nonsense! Labor accepts State control of the railroads with a joyful whoop.

In voicing the particular opinion of the Socialists the "Call" says of them:

> Many of them object to that guarantee of the average of three years' big profits, but . . . here is a clause that . . . will exact more admiration when its purport is more fully understood. As a matter of fact, most Socialists have not noticed it yet, and that is why we reprint it here [the italicizing is the "Call's"]:
>
> "Regular dividends hitherto declared, and maturing interest upon bonds, debentures, and other obligations *may* be paid in due course; and such regular dividends and interest *may* continue to be paid *until and unless the said director* [Mr. McAdoo] *shall from time to time otherwise by general or special orders determine.*"

The "Call" makes this comment:

> Spoken like a real dictator! . . . A genuine dictator obligates himself to nothing. . . . Why should we Socialists not rejoice too? . . . The age of miracles is not past: it's just a-coming . . . you will still see more wonders; things that you thought the Government could never do.

That the Government's taking over the railways is an episodic change which will be permanent and that better and more efficient service would result was stated by Mr. Henry Bruère, the former City Chamberlain of New York City, at the recent Intercollegiate Socialist Society's meeting as reported by the Boston "Christian Science Monitor." Government control of the roads, he said, would have also a great influence on city governments. Public control of street railways, food, fuel, and housing problems was predicted. Mr. Bruère foresaw a city composed of persons who would see that things got done and would regard the Government as an instrument to work with and not an outside thing.

ORGANIZED LABOR

Opinion on the part of labor leaders and trade unionists has been, so far, not publicly expressed. Before the war organized

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labor was inclined to oppose government ownership and operation of public utilities—including railways. This was largely because the railway brotherhoods, who constitute the unions of railway employees, saw in government operation a menace to their accustomed freedom of action. The war, however, has brought about a change in the point of view of many railway presidents and other officials, and may have likewise changed the point of view of many railway employees. Whether it has actually done so or not it is too early yet to tell. Labor leaders are slow in expressing personal views before consulting the organizations they represent. At the time this issue of The Outlook goes to press no labor papers published since the President's proclamation have come to our notice.

THE OPINION OF THE RAILWAY OPERATORS

In seeking the opinion of railway managers, one naturally turns to the New York-Chicago "Railway Age." It says:

> Railway facilities have now become inadequate because the various regulating bodies have refused to let the railways earn enough of return to raise the capital required to make facilities adequate. The breakdown is not a breakdown of railway management, but of railway regulation. . . .
>
> There is grave uncertainty as to whether the Government has proceeded along all or, indeed, most lines with real efficiency. And yet it is soberly contended that it should take over the operation of the railways in order to increase their efficiency. . . . The Government does other things badly, therefore it would operate the railways well.

Among railway presidents one might select at random Mr. E. P. Ripley, of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé, or Mr. Ralph Peters, President of the Long Island. As reported by the New York "Evening Post," Mr. Ripley says, in line with the "Railway Age's" criticism:

> As to Government ownership of railroads in the future, and what it would mean to the efficiency of railroad operation, . . . the United States Government has never yet transacted any business as economically or as efficiently as private interests have done. I say this advisedly and with full recognition of what it did in the case of the Panama Canal. . . . The Government of the United States is a great political machine. The business of railroading is a science. The mixture of one with the other would destroy the science and corrupt the machine.

And Mr. Peters says:

> I do not see Government ownership of the railroads in the future. In many States we have tried it and it failed and was costly. The people will not trust any one party with the great power of perpetuating itself in office that would surely result from Government ownership. Government ownership might mean full protection for the holders of railroad securities, but it means no continuous policy or responsibility for results, and it would not mean efficiency in railway operation nor wisdom in capital expenditure. Abroad it has resulted in freight rates twice as high as those here, and, if the wage scale be considered, foreign freight rates are four times as high.

According to the New York "Sun," other railway men have expressed themselves as follows: Mr. C. Stuart Patterson, a director of the Pennsylvania System, said: "The President has acted wisely. He patriotically has done that which he deems best for the entire country." And another director, Mr. T. Dewitt Cuyler, asserted: "All will give the Government the fullest co-operation." The same paper reports Mr. Charles S. Mellen, former head of the New Haven System, as follows:

> A single directing head for all the railroads of the country will serve to cut out the hauling of the thousands of cars empty one way—a waste of transportation effort which has been so prevalent under private ownership through the competitive warfare of the different railroads to get business. Now, under Government control, freight will be shipped by the shortest and most expeditious route without regard to which railroad benefits by freight revenue.

The "Sun" also reports an opinion from Mr. Theodore P. Shonts, President of the Interborough Consolidated Corporation of New York City, who has had large experience in operating Western railways:

> With the security-holders protected by the Government guarantee on a reasonable basis, and with the railroad systems of the country operated as a whole, I can see nothing but good as a result. The guarantee of security should encourage investors, and the economies and increased efficiency from unified operation will greatly increase the transportation power of the country.

The most emphatically approving opinion of any railway president, however, seems to be that of Mr. Frederick D. Underwood, of the Erie System. He said, according to the "Sun:"

> This is the best news that I have heard in many a day. It is the biggest and finest thing that has ever happened to our railroads. . . . On the basis of the general announcement I would say instantly that it will be a grand thing for the country as a war-time measure, a grand thing for the railroads themselves, and a grand solution of the labor problem. . . . It will be accepted enthusiastically and of course loyally by the managements and stockholders.

THE OPINION OF CAPITAL

In obtaining the opinion of capitalists one naturally turns to the New York "Commercial and Financial Chronicle." Noting that the President's act has two distinct aspects—the one bearing upon the operation of the roads as a transportation system, and the other bearing upon the treatment of the security-holders—it thinks the latter in its immediate influence much the more important of the two aspects because of its intimate bearing upon the general financial situation. It proceeds:

> Every one will accept the situation in a patriotic spirit . . . even though under Government control and management the efficiency of the roads . . . shall not be improved. . . . The Administration does not mean to repeat the mistake of the Inter-State Commerce Commission or continue the latter's destructive policy, a policy the failure of which has become so palpably evident at the present crucial period in the country's history.

To this the well-known and influential New York "Journal of Commerce" adds:

> There ought really to be improvement and enlargement of facilities during this period of government control and a stronger and more harmoniously working system thereafter. . . .

"Wall Street" has come to be in many minds a sort of synonym of capital. Hence the opinions of men who work in or near Wall Street are significant. Mr. J. P. Morgan's name would occur first to many inquirers. He says, as reported by the New York "Sun:"

> In my opinion, the President's action should be a great relief to the situation. The railroads, with every desire to help as much as possible in winning the war, have found themselves hampered by division of authority and by the competitive policy imposed on them by law. As this situation could be relieved only by Federal action, it is a great satisfaction to see that action taken. I am sure that Mr. McAdoo will have the heartiest co-operation from every one in the great task he is undertaking.

The "Sun" also reports Mr. Alexander J. Hemphill, Chairman of the Board of the Guaranty Trust Company, as calling the President's proclamation "the greatest constructive thing that has happend in years for the railroads."

And Mr. Charles H. Sabin, President of the Guaranty Trust Company, is also reported not only as approving the change but as saying in particular:

> Perhaps the most cheering feature . . . is that this action means a quickening of our National efficiency for the winning of the war.

GENERAL OPINION

The opinion of the newspapers throughout the country is practically unanimous in approval. The editorials in the Springfield "Republican" are always read with respect, and it says:

> Because of the absolute power which the Federal Government may now exercise over the routing of traffic . . . centralized control should be beneficial in various industries at an early day, especially in the transportation of coal.

The New York press is so emphatic in its approval that the Socialist "Call" pokes fun at it. "Even the New York 'Times,'" it remarks, "swallows the previously supposed nasty medicine with a fairly good grace, and professes to find it quite tasty and not at all disagreeable." The "Times" itself declares:

> President Wilson has put an end to a period of uncertainty and disquieting rumors by which quite enough harm has been done. It was time for the decision and the decision will be welcomed by the people and by the railways. . . .
>
> Director-General McAdoo appeals for the support of public sentiment. He was sure of it before his appeal reached the eyes

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of readers of yesterday's newspapers. It is difficult to imagine a quicker or greater response than he has received from every direction.

The newspapers of the South and West echo this. The Louisville "Courier-Journal," one of the best known of all the Southern papers, says:

> The elimination of competition, the co-ordination of transportation systems, and the subordination of all other purposes to that of making the resources of the United States mobile for the prosecution of the war should make the transfer of the railroads to government control of decided constructive value.
>
> The experiment cannot succeed without serving as an object-lesson in government ownership . . . a bridge which a majority of Americans will be willing to cross when they reach it. At present the prosecution of war occupies every American's mind. . . . All else must be made subordinate to it and where possible contributory to it.

In the Middle West the Chicago "Herald" stands prominent. It says:

> After noon to-morrow Uncle Sam will be at the throttle . . . This relief will probably be appreciated by no one more than the railroad managers themselves . . . If Government control is the only way of bringing the Government to afford that relief which the roads have long been clamoring for, it will have certain advantages over the semi-Governmental control which regulates the income drastically but permits the outflow to flow unchecked.

In conclusion, the opinion of the "Kansas City Star," whose opinions are Nationally respected, forms a suitable summary of the whole matter: "It is testimony to the immense changes worked in the National spirit that such a revolutionary movement is carried out with little opposition in any quarter. The American people are solidly behind any measure necessary to help win the war."

SOME REFLECTIONS UPON A MEETING OF POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

As some of our readers who have read in The Outlook Mr. Davenport's lively observations on public questions, and who know of his acquaintance with the practical workings of government through his experiences in political office, may need to be reminded, the writer of the following special correspondence is Professor of Law and Civil Polity at Hamilton College.—THE EDITORS.

THE City of Brotherly Love during the holidays was full of college professors—historians and classicists, sociologists and economists—and political scientists of the university persuasion. And, naturally, the most war-shocked and war-bewildered of all were the political scientists. What about the future of responsible democracy? Is there to be any future? Not unless democracy can be made to work far better than it has worked hitherto. Beard, sometime protesting Professor of Politics at Columbia, offered a scathing indictment of the legalistic political philosophies of recent generations, and openly confessed for himself and his comrades that there had been neither adequate vision nor political health in any of them. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, defined a reformer as a well-meaning person, usually a college professor, who believes that things ought to be different and who has a panacea to make them different, which fails because he has no conception of how things actually are done in the politics of the country or what the underlying forces are with which he has to deal.

Actual government is more and more looking to political science for ideas of reorganization. There is no doubt about that. A good representation of the political intellectuals of the United States were gathered at Philadelphia; but they recognized that the country had asked of them bread and that they had given it a stone. They hadn't put it across. Treitschke put it across. For a generation he fed the sources of power in the German state with the political nutriment craved by the law of its sovereign being. As an inspirer of autocracy to do its ablest and its worst he is without a peer.

When will the political intellectuals of America begin to inspire democracy to do its noblest and its best? Certainly not until they get in touch with the human nature of American democracy and begin to understand the great sub-conscious forces of its being. Political science in the United States knows what Aristotle thought and Machiavelli and the Federalists. It can describe governments that have existed and it begins to have a vision of certain concrete particulars in which government and society in the future must be different from government and society in the past. But it has in places of power no Bismarcks, no Treitschkes, no Hamiltons, and no Madisons, and no powerful intellects of action who see the whole thing in the large and are able to put it across.

The great body of political intellectuals in America are doing very little to make democracy responsible and efficient and powerful, because they are not in touch with the motives and sources of action. They are not in touch with the great currents of human nature, with men and things as they are. They are groping around just now for an economic interpretation of politics, which is all right as far as it goes. But very few of them are practical political psychologists, which is an important matter for a political scientist. They have no broad, corporate political philosophy, and no way of putting it across if they had the philosophy. It was easy for Treitschke. The organization of the German state was eager and ready for his ideas. But it is a far harder task to inspire and lead into action the inchoate and chaotic American democracy.

What is to be done about it? How shall the political scientist become more competent, and by what methods shall he put it across? In the first place, no man ought to be allowed to teach political science who doesn't spend part of his time in the world outside of his college class-room in the laboratory of practical political activity. You cannot inclose a laboratory of political science within the four walls of a building on the campus. Every political scientist should have his roots deliberately and practically in the world outside, and boards of trustees and faculties should come to see the very great need of it in this particular department of knowledge. Dry-as-dust disquisitions about days that are done or about Utopias that never dawned are no help whatever to the American democracy.

And the whole system of public school and college education needs to be revolutionized on the side of preparation for citizenship. The place to put practical political ideals in a democracy is in the plastic and impressionable minds of boys and girls who to-morrow are to have the voting power and the control absolute of the country's future—a great new programme of concrete citizenship worked into the school curriculum at an early period and required of every boy and girl to the end of the educational career; no paltry civics nor skeleton studies in government, but concrete community experiences directly participated in under the school roof or near by—voting, naturalization, parliaments, courts, the manifold community activities that function in a city or county or State. Nothing can stop the universal suffrage of both men and women in a democracy; nothing must stop their preparation for it when the age of duty comes.

The great need of the leaders of democracy is a better knowledge and a better appreciation of human nature in politics. Now everybody votes and everybody reads and democracy has broken loose from its swaddling-clothes. It is impossible to control democracy from above by checks and balances and weights and hobbles, as the revered Federalists did in the early days of the Nation. Democracy resents such inhibitions, and ought to resent them. It is too late even benevolently to coerce democracy in this country, in any event. Real leaders with ideas and deep and genuine sympathy with the masses of the people are henceforth to be the most reliable checks upon the mob spirit in America and throughout the world.

But how are you going to sympathize with democracy and lead it straight, no matter how much of a political intellectual

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you are, unless you sit down with democracy humbly and learn its inner nature and the great and more or less sub-conscious forces which determine its action? The intellectuals and natural leaders are under bonds to live with democracy, to sit down patiently in all the political club-houses, trade-union gatherings, and farmers' associations, and learn what democracy is thinking about and how democracy feels about it.

Why, in New York City, does Al Smith last longer than John Purroy Mitchel? Why does Tammany outlast all its Fusion foes and grow slowly better in the process? From the standpoint of democracy, it is a matter of the survival of the fittest. Al Smith knows the human nature of every man, woman, and child on Manhattan Island. That has always been the strength of Tammany. The cold corporate method, no matter how efficient, applied to politics without recourse to human nature or appreciation of it, is doomed to failure. The last Fusion campaign in New York City will long remain a classical illustration of the futility of selling good government from above to a democracy. It cannot be done, not even with the most enormous overhead charges. The last attempt at a new and far better Constitution for the State of New York failed precisely at this point. A group of thoroughly able and sincere men planned, more or less *in camera*, after the manner of Federalists, a better instrument of government than New York had ever known. I do not know that the inspectors of election are through yet with counting the overwhelming majority in opposition. Those modern Federalists forgot that you must let modern democracy know at every point what you are doing, patiently, determinedly, sympathetically, or you cannot put it across.

Through sympathy and the humble spirit of getting acquainted with things as they are, perhaps by and by the whole American public cant about men who interest themselves practically in politics will cease. The right leaders will come, though, will be recognized, and will be influential. As the result of many a sad experience there is now a public tone of opprobrium against men who persistently seek to become influential in public affairs. They are "self-seekers" or "office-seekers," at best to be tolerated and suspected, defeated soon, and changed often in order to insure political security and the public welfare. Their salaries are usually fixed at amounts which Mr. Murphy, of New York, once rightly affirmed to be only "chicken feed." The only alternative has seemed to be to depend, as England has done, upon the leadership of a benevolent aristocracy of wealth and position. But the American democracy does not take kindly to this alternative. Neither will any democracy in the long run.

There is a better way, and perhaps the American democracy will follow it when its sympathethic intellectuals make themselves well enough acquainted with the common mind, so that the common mind begins to trust them. Great numbers of young men in the colleges of America ought to be under instruction to look forward to practical politics as a means of livelihood as well as of service. The most practical politics is enlightened self-interest, modified by the spirit of service and of sympathy with the ideals of the mass of mankind. Not all of this was said at the meeting of political scientists in the City of Brotherly Love, but the substance of what is here written lay back of all that was said.

Philadelphia, December 29, 1917.

SENATOR NEWLANDS: AN APPRECIATION

BY FRANKLIN K. LANE

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

I SHOULD like to lay a "sprig of Western pine" upon the bier of Francis G. Newlands. He was a noble man. Throughout a long life of active political struggle he never made an enemy whom he would not have chosen as an enemy, and he drew to himself all men of fine aspiration. Some of those with whom he worked thought him a dreamer—and he was. He had that obsession, so unbelieved in by the practical politician, that the world was eventually ruled by thought; that the man who kept his head clear and open to the incoming of the highest impulses would find himself gradually surrounded by those who come up slowly to the same high plane. It was this great optimism which was the foundation rock of his nature. He believed that the innate secret of democracy was its sureness in the end to do the right thing. He was a dreamer, and he saw some of his dreams come true. It took twenty years of agitation to gain the consent of Congress to look at the problem of our rivers and deserts and forests as one National problem. It is fifteen years and more since his effort resulted in the Reclamation Act; and only at the last session was he able to tie the problem of irrigation to the problem of flood control and water transportation.

It was on Mr. Newlands's resolution that the Hawaiian Islands came into the Union. He labored tirelessly on behalf of the railway men to secure protection for their lives upon freight trains through the passage of the Safety Appliance Acts. He believed in the Constitution as a living instrument quite equal to the responsibilities and duties of a growing Nation. Indeed, a review of his political career will show him to have been a forward-looking man from his earliest day in Congress. He saw clearly, and before others saw or dared to speak, the things which threatened and which must be met; and, splendidly lacking in what one of his colleagues called "a sense of opportuneness," he battled in season and out for measures which promoted the making of an American nation that was more serviceable to the world in its physical strength and in its physical beauty. He challenged the finest qualities in men; never their smallnesses, their petty personal likes and dislikes, and, as a result, drew from all those whom he knew their noblest qualities, revealed their finer selves; and only in his death all realize how much they respected him and how real their affection for him was.

FRANCIS GRIFFITH NEWLANDS, BORN AUGUST 28, 1848; DIED DECEMBER 24, 1917

The Vice-President, with his exceptional power of discrimination, said a true thing: "I admire some men and love a few. Newlands I both admired and loved." A gentleman and a statesman has passed.

Washington, D. C., December 26, 1917.

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JAPAN'S WAR PROBLEMS: HER NEW RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, EUROPE, AND CHINA

THE growing friendly relations of Japan and the United States are signalized by the visit to this country of two important Japanese commissions. The first, of which Visount Ishii is the head, was a diplomatic mission. Its function and its reception in this country have already been noted in these pages. It was signalized by the Ishii-Lansing agreement concerning the rights of Japan and the United States in the Far East.

One of the questions which the Ishii Mission dealt with was the part that Japan had in the war. It is this subject that the first of the two following articles discusses.

The second commission is known as the Finance Commission. While it is officially appointed, authorized, and sent by the Imperial Government of Japan, it is not at all political. Its function is rather social, industrial, and economic. Viscount Ishii's mission may be likened to an official call of the Government of Japan upon the Government of the United States. Baron Megata's mission may be likened to a call of the Japanese people upon the people of the United States.

In the second of the two following articles Baron Ito, of the Finance Commission, tells our readers something about the commercial relations of Japan and America. The Imperial Finance Commission, of which he is a member, and which arrived in San Francisco about November 1 last, is making a study of the industrial and economic development of the United States by visiting and observing the work of American manufacturers, industrialists, and merchandisers. For many years the balance of trade between the two countries has been in favor of Japan, as the phrase goes. That is to say, Japan has exported more to this country than she has imported from us. The balance has been paid by us in specie by exchange on London. But Japan would much prefer to take this balance in commodities rather than in money. Steel, forexample, is very necessary to Japan as a manufacturing country, and she would like to import more steel from the United States; and Japan needs the steel to finish the ships which she is building, and which we and our allies need. An increase of exportations from this country to Japan of raw materials and manufactured goods would be, of course, an advantage to American commerce.

Baron Megata, who is the head of the Finance Commission, was born in 1853, the year when Commodore Perry first opened the gates of intercourse between Japan and the United States. The Baron was the first Japanese to graduate from an American university, having received his degree of Bachelor of Arts from Harvard in 1874. He has had a long public career in Japan, beginning in the educational department and later serving as a justice in the law courts. But his chief and longest work as a publicist and officer of the Government has been in the Department of Finance. The Commission consists of eight members besides himself. Four of these members are Government officers, and four of them represent important and influential financial or industrial houses. They deserve a cordial welcome in this country.—THE EDITORS.

I—WHY JAPAN HAS NOT SENT AN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE TO EUROPE

BY T. IYENAGA

Dr. Iyenaga is Director of the "East and West News Bureau," an organization of Japanese citizens for promoting a better understanding between America and Japan. He is also associated with the University of Chicago as a professorial lecturer.—THE EDITORS.

JAPAN'S position in the world war is unique. She entered the war in obedience to the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which imposed upon her the duty of conducting military operations in common with her ally in the regions of eastern Asia and of safeguarding mutual interests therein. Japan also joined the solemn agreement entered into between the Entente Powers to make no separate peace. So long, therefore, as peace in conformity with the wishes of her allies is not concluded, Japan is of course a belligerent warring against the Central Powers.

But since the capture of the German stronghold in the Far East on November 7, 1914, and the sweeping of enemy warships out of the Eastern seas, with the exception of her recent naval activity in the Mediterranean, Japan has apparently been standing aloof from the great conflict. The question is therefore often asked, "Why is this aloofness on the part of Japan? Why is she not fighting on the European battlefields, whereas the United States, who joined the ranks of the Allies half a year ago, is to-day mustering all her military resources and sending to Europe her sons by hundreds of thousands?"

The geographical position Japan occupies and the peculiar international situation she finds herself in have determined the part she should play in the war. In view of these circumstances, to Japan was assigned by her allies the task of destroying the German power in the Far East and of preserving peace and safeguarding the Allied interests therein. That this duty has been, and is, being discharged by Japan with fidelity and thoroughness is patent to those who have closely followed the course of events in the Orient during the past three years. What is not generally known, however, is the fact that since the reduction of Kiaochau and the capture of German naval bases in the South Seas, the Japanese navy has been keeping a vigilant watch over the wide expanse of waters from the Red Sea to the Yellow Sea, and a large portion of the Pacific, involving in the operations an enormous extent of cruises made by the fleets and a corresponding heavy expenditure. Furthermore, Japan has subscribed to the loans of her allies to the full extent of her financial capacity, and supplied them with much-needed munitions and other war materials. And especially to Russia has Japan assured an uninterrupted flow of ammunition, guns and rifles, foodstuffs and clothing.

In examining the question of despatching Japanese troops to Europe, it must be noted, in the first place, that it was neither the wish of her allies nor that of Japan that she should thrust herself upon the European stage. The writer is aware that the subject has been discussed by certain publicists of some Allied countries, but he has no knowledge of any formal request having been made to Japan by any of the Allied Governments to send an expeditionary force to Europe. The reason is not far to seek. Japan's proper sphere of activity is in the Orient and on the eastern Pacific. It was for this reason that, when she entered the war, Japan by an agreement with her ally limited her naval and military activities to the Far East and its waters. True, the sphere of her naval operations was gradually extended. It was first extended to the South Seas, then to the Indian Ocean, then to the Cape of Good Hope, then to embrace the Pacific, and finally to certain parts of the Mediterranean, where a fleet of Japanese destroyers is to-day co-operating with the Allied fleets in the operations against the enemy submarines. But so far as the movement of Japan's land forces is concerned the basis of action first agreed upon still remains intact, for no cause that justifies its alteration has yet appeared.

As The Outlook well remarks: "Just as the United States must be the leader in affairs on the American continent, so Japan must sound the dominant note in the East. Let, then, Japan use its vast influence in the Orient, and in the Occident let the United States on one side of the Atlantic and the democratic countries of Europe on the other side take the lead." It seems, then, but proper that, so far as purely military operations are concerned, the war in the Occident should be met by

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the European and American Allies. It is, in fact, none of Japan's part to intrude herself upon the European fields. Such an enterprise is entirely out of harmony with the wise and far-sighted policy that should guide Japan, for in undertaking it she is bound to face the dilemma of either impairing her hard-won military prestige or of reawakening the cry of "Yellow Peril," which is now fortunately on the point of being committed to oblivion. Would it not, furthermore, be a mark of discourtesy, to use a mild word, on the part of Japan to think of sending troops to the assistance of her European allies? Those who advocate in an easy fashion the despatch of a Japanese force to Russia for the purpose of rehabilitating the morale of Russian troops completely ignore the psychology of the Russian people.

In the next place, there are almost insurmountable difficulties in the way of despatching an expeditionary force from Japan to Europe. There is first the question of difference in race, language, habit, and diet existing between the Japanese and European troops, which would by no means be easy to adjust. There is next the question of the tremendous cost involved in the expedition. According to some authorities, such an expedition would cost Japan $2,000,000,000 a year. Rich as she has suddenly grown to be, Japan is still burdened with a heavy debt, bequeathed as a heritage of the costly Russo-Japanese War. Japan cannot bear the burden of a distant oversea expedition.

But the foremost of all difficulties is that of transportation. The Trans-Siberian Railway, although it may have seen a considerable improvement through the efforts of American engineers, is still in a paralyzed condition, or at least overtaxed in hauling across Siberia the military provisions piled up mountain high in Vladivostok. The only alternative would, then, be to transport Japanese troops by sea. But where can we secure the required ships? In transporting a million Japanese soldiers —nothing short of this number would prove of any effective value—with all the necessary paraphernalia of war, it would probably require four millions of tonnage—in other words, one thousand ocean-going ships of four thousand tons each; and a constant flow of munitions and foodstuffs must also be provided for. The construction of Japanese guns and rifles and the peculiar dietary needs of Japanese soldiers would make it impracticable for her European allies to supply the ammunition and provisions for the Japanese army. Were Japan to commandeer for the purpose of transportation the entire fleet of her merchant marine fit for ocean voyage, not only would much time—according to some estimates it would take two years and a half—be expended before the completion of the transportation programme, but in the meantime the commerce of the Far East with America and Europe would be completely paralyzed.

The foregoing will suffice to explain why Japan has not sent an expeditionary force to Europe and to convince any one that it would be of far greater benefit to her allies that Japan devote her energies in other directions than the one touched upon. There are many ways for Japan to serve the Allied cause. It would of course be foolish for one to predict that no emergency will ever arise when it may become an imperative duty for Japan to surmount every obstacle in her way, to risk all, sacrifice all, at the altar of the common cause. It need not be emphasized that Japan stands ready to do everything within her power to see victory perch over the banners of the Allied nations.

II—AMERICA AND JAPAN IN THE TRADE OF CHINA

BY BARON BUNKICHI ITO

A SPECIAL FINANCE COMMISSIONER OF JAPAN TO THE UNITED STATES

THE vastness of the market possibilities of China has never been recognized by the American people.

Once the Chinese field is reasonably opened up for the reception of foreign goods and the people educated to use them, Japan will not have the power to supply one-hundredth of the Chinese demand. There is room in China for the trade, not only of the United States and of Japan as well, but also of the so-called competitors from Europe.

An impression prevails in the United States that the interests of Japan and America in China are incompatible, that they are fundamentally antagonistic and are destined to collide right along, and more especially over the trade of China.

The impression is wrong—as far as I can see, it is about as wrong as most fashionable impressions are very apt to be.

Let us view this theme from the standpoint of the trade of the two countries with China. It is true that the American cottons have shown a decrease of late in the amount of sale to the Chinese customers. People at once jumped at the conclusion that the reason of all that was the Japanese competition. In the past there may have been instances where the American cotton goods were crowded out of a certain section of the Chinese market through the competition of the Japanese goods. But things are quite different at present. The weaving industry of China itself has gone ahead at a rather remarkable pace in late years. As a result, the native products naturally have cut down the amount of foreign importation of cottons. They drove out the American cottons. They also drove out the Japanese goods of similar grade. They work impartially against the Japanese and American goods alike. The Chinese products do not compete with a fine grade of cottons (some of the British makes, for example), for the simple reason that the Chinese do not produce the higher-grade goods. Therefore, unless the American cotton mills specialize in the high-grade articles, they are compelled to face the competition from the output of the native mills.

As a matter of statistical fact, the United States has made greater progress in the Chinese trade than Japan has since the beginning of the world war. In 1916 the United States sold to China goods amounting to 53,824,000 haikwan taels, and her imports from China amounted to 72,081,000 haikwan taels in value. Therefore the total trade of America with China amounted to 125,905,000 taels. These are the figures of the maritime customs of China. Now compare these figures with those of the pre-war year—those of 1913. The result will be seen to be nothing less than sensational. American exports to China gained something like fifty-two per cent, and American imports from China about ninety-two per cent. It is not difficult to account for this change, of course. With the outbreak of the great war China could not get from Europe the things she was wont to get from there. She had to turn to the United States and other countries. The Chinese demand for American goods increased markedly as the result of this situation. And at the same time the United States found it necessary to buy a good deal more of materials from China, largely owing to the tremendous activity of her factories in getting out goods to supply the belligerent Powers.

Japan's trade with China of course has grown apace since the beginning of the war. But the ratio of growth of her China trade falls below that of the United States. Last year Japan exported to China goods amounting to 160,490,000 haikwan taels in value, and imported from China 112,922,000 taels' worth of goods. The total trade, therefore, amounted to 273,412,000 haikwan taels. In the total it is far above that of the American trade with China; but when one compares these figures with those of 1913—the year before the opening of the war—he will readily find that Japan has gained only thirty-four per cent in her exports to China and seventy-two per cent in her imports from her.

And this comparatively disappointing showing of Japan's Chinese trade is not so astounding, after all. Japan has many advantages over the other great trading powers as far as the Chinese market is concerned—her geographical position with reference to the Chinese market, a more intimate knowledge of China, and a greater facility in accommodating the demands of her Chinese customers, etc. At the same time, it is equally true that the development of her industries is still far from attaining a position of filling the Chinese demands for a thousand and one articles of foreign manufacture.

Most of us know that the China trade will increase with the years. What we are rather unmindful of is the awakening of industrial China. All over China spinning-mills and factories for the manufacture of textiles, matches, knitted goods, soap, glass, and other simpler forms of industries are springing up at a really remarkable pace. Japan, naturally, feels the effect of

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THE JAPANESE SPECIAL FINANCE COMMISSION NOW IN THE UNITED STATES

Left to right, bottom row: Baron Bunkichi Ito, Secretary in the Extraordinary Industrial Investigation Bureau, Department of Agriculture and Commerce; Mr. Chozo Koike, Director of the Kuhara Head Office, Osaka; Baron Tanetaro Megata, member of the House of Peers; Dr. Seiji Hishida, Secretary Interpreter to the Government General of Cho-sen (Korea); Mr. Takenosuke Sakaguchi, Technical Inspector in the Extraordinary Investigation Bureau, Department of Finance. Top row: Mr. Osamu Matsumoto, Secretary in the Department of Finance; Mr. Kenjiro Matsumoto, Representative of the Yasukawa Mining Co., Fukuoka; Mr. Yoshitaro Yamashita, General Manager of the Sumitomo Firm, Osaka; Mr. Umekichi Yoneyama, Managing Director of the Mitsui Bank, Ltd., Tokyo

all this more keenly than any other exporting country. Unless the industrial activity of Japan takes a tremendous forward step in the near future, the Japanese exports to China will be gradually crowded out by the native products, for the simple reason that the large proportion of Japan's exports to China are products of a simpler form of manufacturing industry—the very kind which China can herself produce now or very soon. It is different with the United States. The steady advance of industrial China is a good thing for America. It will be some time before China attains the height of complex industrial activity which prevails in the United States. Meanwhile, the more China develops her simpler forms of industrial activities, the greater would be her demand for machinery, steel products, chemical products, drugs, dyestuffs, and such other things as the United States is able to furnish. And these are the very articles in which Japan cannot hope to compete with the United States.

In the past the chief articles of American export to China were kerosene oil, cottons, wheaten flour, timber, iron and steel, paper, and cigarettes. In the years preceding the world war the American trade with China was not exactly in a flourishing condition, but after the coming of the world war all was changed. American goods have taken the place of European supplies in the Chinese markets to a very large extent; iron and steel manufactures, machinery, leather goods, cars, chemical products and drugs, and various other goods have been imported from the United States. The result of all this was the remarkable growth of the American trade with China.

Now Japan did not get much benefit out of this sudden stoppage of the European supplies to China and to the rest of the Far East. This does not accord with the general impression prevailing in the United States; nevertheless, it is true. And the reason for it all is not far to seek, for in many departments of iron and steel manufactures, in chemical industries, Japan had not attained any marked advance. It was more than she could do to supply her own needs in some of those products. Indeed, she had to import a major portion of these things from abroad.

And the point is that these steel products and the fruits of chemical industries are the very things which China will demand more and more of with her economic advance. There is little room for doubt that the American wares which have taken the place of the European ones in the markets of China will be amply able to hold their own in the days following the present world war.

It will be seen, therefore, that America and Japan can, and will, naturally be forced to get along in harmony and side by side as far as the Chinese markets are concerned. Japan will for some years to come keep on supplying China with the products of the simpler forms of industry—with the comparatively cheaper grades of goods. And at the same time the United States will play the title rôle of purveyor of the higher grade of manufactures and more expensive wares to China. Therefore there should be little room for collision between the activities of the two countries.

Of course it goes without saying that Japan is straining her every sinew and will in the future exert herself to the utmost to develop her own industries. She expects confidently, indeed, to rank with the best of the manufacturing nations of the earth at no distant day. Some day she will be putting out the same high grade of wares as the United States is to-day producing; she will come in keen competition with the American products when that time arrives. But at the same time what one should bear constantly in mind is this all-important fact:

China is a huge country.

The market possibilities of that land are very great. Let her perfect her transportation facilities, let her open up her now dormant natural resources. All that will be bound to result in an immense increase of her purchasing power; which, in turn, would mean the increase of her demands for goods and products of every sort. Japan has not the slightest doubt that the expansion of the Chinese market possibilities will outrace the Japanese ability to supply her demands. In short, she believes that there will be more than ample room in China for both American and Japanese goods when the industrial activity of Japan attains the height where she will be an active competitor of America in the higher grade of wares.

Heretofore the one fundamental cause of the faltering advance of the foreign trade of China has been her utterly inadequate transportation facilities. With the perfection of her transportation lines, therefore, we shall see a remarkable advance in her trade. And this all-important factor—the building of railways and other means of communication in China—is dependent altogether on foreign capital. China has no funds or technical ability to build them, any more than she can open up her own resources without outside help.

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RIGHTEOUS WRATH

BY HENRY VAN DYKE

There are many kinds of hate, as many kinds of fire;
And some are fierce and fatal with murderous desire;
And some are mean and craven, revengeful, selfish, slow,
They hurt the man that holds them more than they hurt his foe.

And yet there is a hatred that purifies the heart,
The anger of the better against the baser part,
Against the false and wicked, against the tyrant's sword,
Against the enemies of love, and all that hate the Lord.

O cleansing indignation, O flame of righteous wrath,
Give me a soul to see thee and follow in thy path!
Save me from selfish virtue, arm me for fearless fight,
And give me strength to carry on, a soldier of the Right!

THE TELEFERICA

THE WAR'S AERIAL TRAMWAY

BY LEWIS R. FREEMAN

This article, as the reader will find, was written before the recent retreat of General Cadorna. Up to the end of 1917, however, the Italian armies were still holding the enemy back in the foothills of the Alps in the Asiago war-section, between the upper waters of the Piave and Brenta Rivers.—THE EDITORS.

IF I were asked to choose a symbol for the simple directness with which the Italians have driven straight for the heart of the unprecedented problems which have confronted them in connection with their Alpine warfare, I should unhesitatingly name the *teleferica*, or aerial tramway, which has been the *sine qua non* of that warfare. The avalanche may block the road, the spate of the torrent carry away the bridge, the tempest force the airplane to shelter, but the little wire cage of the *teleferica* purrs along on its way unheedful of the disturbances in the heavens above, the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth. Just so have the resourceful Italians contrived to find a way straight through the difficulties which have beset them as a consequence of electing to carry on a war under conditions which have relegated to the waste-basket the theorizings of the strategists of all time on mountain warfare.

Up to the time of the outbreak of the present war both the Italian and Austrian plans of Alpine warfare were based on the assumption that, since there appeared to be no practicable way in which lofty peaks could be permanently occupied, offensive and defensive must necessarily be limited to the taking or holding of passes and the comparatively low heights immediately commanding them. If the Italians had been willing to fight the Austrians on "conventional" lines, there is little doubt that the latter—who have for the most part essayed a strictly defensive rôle from the first—would not have deliberately increased their commitments by deviating materially from the lines of established practice. But once the impetuous Latin began the scramble for the peaks, his enemy had to follow the lead or back up.

On the human side the most important factor in the Italian success has been the brave and resourceful Alpino, whose only rival in all the world as a mountain soldier is the Ghurka of Nepal, with whom he has many traits in common. On the material side the great element has been the excellence—I might almost say perfection—of the Italian transport service. The foundation of this transport rests upon a service of motor lorries which in many respects is not equaled by that of any other belligerent. But motor transport must have roads, and above the perpetual snow-line in the Alps there are not—indeed, cannot be—any roads. Moreover, even the broadest, best-metaled, and easiest-graded of such roads as do exist are in the winter months often blocked for weeks at a time by avalanches or drifted snow. It was principally to take up transport where the motor could no longer continue it that the modern *teleferica* or cableway was perfected.

The cableway, or aerial tram, has been in use in various parts of the world for many years, usually for carrying ore from mines to mills or smelters. It also figured occasionally in the early stages of bridge construction. The only place I ever heard of its being used for regular passenger traffic was in Switzerland, where, near Grindelwald, I once saw one employed to take tourists across a deep gorge to the foot of a glacier. There was usually a strict rule against traveling on the mining cableway except in emergency, and one of the most memorable stunts of my youth was a ride I once contrived to take across a deep canyon above the roofs of the town of Wardner, Idaho, in a half-filled "bucket" of lead ore.

When the Italians decided to "carry the war skyward," and began casting about for some means of transport which could be depended upon in all weathers to keep communications open between the men in the snow trenches twelve or thirteen thousand feet in the air and the bases in the more or less protected Alpine valleys, the *teleferica* at once suggested itself as the best solution of the problem.

"The rather crude contrivance which the cableway was up to our entry into the war was by no means sufficient for the purposes we had in mind for it," an Italian military engineer told me in the Trentino last winter. "We had to have something simpler, lighter, and more dependable than anything of the kind that had yet been built; in fact, from *camions* to compressed-air drills, our whole effort in perfecting Alpine transport has been directed toward simplicity, lightness, and dependability. Portability, strength, and general 'fool-proofness' are even more vital necessities in Alpine warfare than in any other. We simply borrowed the idea of the aerial tramway, and, with these *desiderata* always in mind, developed the *teleferica* of to-day. I cannot tell you how many hundred miles of cableways there are on our front, nor how many thousands of men and hundreds of thousands of tons of food and munitions have been carried over them; but I *can* assure you that the *teleferica* (which looks the most dangerous) is really the safest means of transport we have, to say nothing of the fact that (in the higher mountains, of course) it is also the most economical.

"Did you ever hear of a man being killed in a *teleferica* accident? You have not. Well, I shall be greatly surprised if you ever do. They are so simple in design—just the cableway, a petrol engine, and a couple of cages—that it is possible to guard almost absolutely against structural defects, so that the only trouble that can happen to them must come from without rather than from within. The wind, if it is strong enough, can make it difficult or impossible to run the cars on an exposed span, but that,

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since we began grooving the wheels so deeply that they simply *cannot* be blown off the cable, is about all it can do. An avalanche might carry a section of one away, if it could get at it; but, since the probable swath of a *valanga* is pretty clearly determinable, it can almost invariably be crossed with an unsupported span and the menace thus avoided. Either for safety or convenience, you will never make a mistake, when getting about on any part of our front, to take the *teleferica* in preference to any other form of transportation—from your own legs to an automobile—that offers."

I was fortunate in having had this advice at the outset, for I must confess that there did arise occasions—especially on windy days—when I might otherwise have been strongly disinclined to crawl into a two-by-six basket and allow my shivering anatomy to be hauled off on a tenuous wire that was lost a thousand feet or so above in a driving snow-storm which was raging about the lofty Alpine pinnacle to a sheltered cavern on the lee side of which the cable was *said* to run. The assurance was well borne out. The jump from sunshine to storm, and from storm back to sunshine, became a common experience on both my summer and winter tours of the Alpine front. Those were astonishing places that the *teleferica* took me to—lofty sky-line snow trenches, from the parapet of which unfolded a fantastic panorama the foreground of which was the enemy's barbed-wire tangle, well within hand-grenade range, and its background a serrated range of white peaks fifty miles beyond the border of Switzerland; a splintered pinnacle, through the elbow of the artillery-smashed statue of a saint on the summit of which one peered into an Austrian gun cavern in the side of a similar pinnacle three hundred yards away across a mile-deep gorge; a mountain battery ensconced in the eternal blue-green ice of a mighty glacier; and a score of vantages scarcely less beautiful, wonderful, and unforgetable. All this laid me under a debt which a lifetime of gratitude will be insufficient to repay. As for safety, in the course of the several dozen *teleferica* journeys I made, several of them at the height of actual blizzards, the most disagreeable thing which befell me was the falling into one of my eyes of a drop of lubricating oil from the grooved wheel revolving above my head. Even that would have been avoided if I had been content to watch the scenery unfold instead of getting onto my knees and peering upwards in an ill-advised endeavor to discover "how she ticked."

My first sight of a *teleferica* in operation furnished a striking example of the unique service that remarkable contrivance is rendering in facilitating the handling of the wounded at points where other ways of transporting them were either too dangerous or too slow. It was on a sector of the upper Isonzo, where at that time the Austrians had not yet been pushed across the river. A rather wide local attack was on at the moment, and to care the more expeditiously for the wounded a very remarkable little mobile ambulance—the whole equipment of which could be taken down in the morning, packed upon seven motor lorries, moved from fifty to a hundred miles, and be set up and ready for work the same evening—had been pushed up many miles inside the zone of fire to such protection as the "lee" of a high ridge afforded.

"We have found," said the chief surgeon, "that many wounds hitherto regarded as fatal are only so as a consequence of delay in operating upon them. This little hospital unit, which is so complete in equipment that it can do a limited amount of every kind of work that any base hospital can perform, was designed for the express purpose of giving earlier attention to wounds of this kind, principally those of the abdomen. From the first we saved a great number of men who would otherwise never have survived to reach the base hospitals; but even so we found we were still losing many as a consequence of the delay that would often arise in transporting them over some badly exposed bit of road on which it was not deemed safe to risk ambulances or stretcher-bearers. Then we devised a special basket for wounded, to be run on the *teleferica* (as you see here), with the result that we are now saving practically every man that it is humanly possibly to save."

While he was speaking, the *teleferica*, which ended beside the tent of the operating theater, began to click, and presently an oblong box, almost identical in size and shape with a coffin, appeared against the sky-line of the ridge and began gently gliding toward us along the sagging cable. "In that box," continued the surgeon, "there will be a man whose life depends upon whether or not his wound can be operated upon within an hour or so of the time he received it. He was probably started on his way to us within ten minutes of the time he arrived at the advanced dressing station, and if he was not left lying out too long the chances are we will pull him through. All up the other slope of the ridge he came across ground that is being heavily shelled (as you can see from the smoke and dust that are rising), but that basket is so small a mark that the Austrians might fire all day at it without hitting it. One of them occasionally runs into the 'pattern' of a shrapnel burst (with disastrous results, of course), but the only danger worth bothering about is of having the *teleferica* laid up from a shell on the engine-house or one of the supporting towers. Although the man is probably unconscious, he is coming alone, you see. No other life, and not even an ambulance, is risked in bringing him here. Except for the *teleferica*, he could not have been sent over until after dark, and the delay would have been fatal. We estimate that from one to three per cent of the men wounded on a battlefield which, like this one, lies so exposed that they cannot be sent back at once by stretchers or ambulance, owe their lives directly to the *teleferica*."

When the cover of the basket was lifted off in the station, the body of a man swathed in a blanket was revealed. He was unable to speak, but a note pinned to the blanket stated that he had been struck in the stomach with a shell fragment just outside the engine-house, and that nothing had been done save to wrap enough gauze around his middle to hold the riven abdomen together and bundle him into the waiting *teleferica* basket. "He must have been wounded not over fifteen minutes ago, and within less than a mile in an air-line from here," commented the chief surgeon. "We might have heard the detonation of the shell that did it. Five minutes one way or the other in operating may mean the difference between life and death in a case of this kind, and the chances are that the *teleferica* has given us the necessary margin."

Before I left the hospital, an hour later, the operation was over and the man was resting comfortably, with every hope of recovery.

On several occasions, going up by a *teleferica*, I have passed a little Red Cross basket going down with a *ferito*, or wounded man (indeed, the occupant of one of these to whom I endeavored to shout a few words of good cheer in Italian reported below that he had been accosted by an unmistakable *Tedesco*); but by far the queerest passenger it was my lot to "balance" against was one I encountered during an attempt I made to get up the Pasubio on a stormy day last January. It was snowing at the rate of four or five inches an hour, and the air was thick with the driving flakes, when, as a consequence (as I learned later) of a drift being piled right up against the cable where the latter crossed a jutting ledge, the steady "tug-tug" of the pulling wire ceased and my basket came to a quivering standstill. I knew that I had been approaching the half-way point, but the first evidence I had that the "down" basket had stopped near by was a sudden pulsing blast which cut athwart the bosom of the storm and assailed my ears like the crack o' doom. Except that it was ten times louder than any human being could make, it was just such a wail of agony as would be wrung from the throat of a man who was being stretched on the rack.

Again the throbbing blast came hurtling through the storm, and this time I noticed that, starting with a raucous bass note, it kept on rising in a sirenic crescendo until it was suddenly broken short, as though the air which drove it was cut off rather than exhausted. Turning down the high collar of my storm coat, I squirmed around and peered back over my shoulder in the direction of the "Thing of Terror," but only an amorphous gray shape in the line of the opposite cable indicated the position of the other basket. It didn't seem possible that a two-feet-wide-by-six-feet-long wire basket could possibly hold anything large enough to make a sound like that, and yet the fact that the cable at this point was five hundred feet or more in the air made it certain that the sound could come from nowhere else.

A brisk shiver was running up and down my spine as I slithered down again in the bottom of the basket, but I told

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myself that it was from the cold and set my wits to work to find a "rational" explanation of the weird phenomenon. A great bird—perhaps an eagle—roosting on the cable? Impossible. Nothing on wings since the time of the "peridactyl," or whatever it was called, could have the lung-power for a wail like that. A fog-horn? Not a hundred miles from the sea. A—ah, I had it now! I told myself—gas-alarm signal out of order; Alpino taking it down to have that broken-off note put right—playing it for his own amusement. "What a fool I had been not to think of it before!" I said to myself as I settled back with a sigh of relief and an easy heart to wait for the "train to start."

When, after a half-hour wait, punctuated at pretty regular intervals by the wail of the "gas alert," the gentle "tug-tug" began again, and the basket started on its way, I pulled myself up on my elbow to give the indefatigable serenader a hail in passing. Presently the "down" basket, filled with some sprawling shape, took form in the hard-driven snow, but it was not until it was almost upon me that I saw that the nose of a donkey, stretched a foot over the side, threatened to foul the side of my swaying car in passing. The vigorous punch of my mittened fist with which I fended it clear set another of those air-shivering blasts going, and I had just time to see, before the curtain of the snow dimmed down and swallowed up the fantastic sight, that the sudden cut-off I noticed at the end was caused by the swelling windpipe being brought into sharp contact with the side of the basket as the beast's neck was stretched out to establish the proper air columns to form the sirenic higher notes.

The donkey, they told me in the engine-house at the top, had colic from eating fresh snow on top of the contents of a box of dried figs he had broached, and they had tied his legs and sent him down on his way to the "Blue Cross" hospital to be put right. He was a plains donkey, and didn't have good "Alpine sense," else they would have driven him down by the path on his own legs. If they had known that a guest was coming up, however, they said, they wouldn't have sent down an ass in the *teleferica*. It wasn't quite safe for either passenger on account of the way the animal sprawled. The last donkey they had sent down got his hind legs tangled in a load of firewood that was coming up, and they had lost a good deal of the precious fuel at a time when they were at the bottom of their pile, with a storm coming on. The "up" car always got the worst of a collision, but if they were only warned that any one of importance was coming, they took great care that there shouldn't be any collision. No one ever got much hurt on a *teleferica*, anyhow.

It seems to be a literal fact that no man has yet lost his life on the Italian front as a consequence of riding in a *teleferica*. Many have been killed in constructing them, and even more in patrolling the lines and keeping them in repair. Men have fallen or have jumped out of the baskets, often from considerable heights, and men have been brought in stiff with cold after two or three hours of exposure to a blizzard in a stalled car. Stations and engines have been carried away and buried, with all serving them, a hundred feet beneath an avalanche; but in these, as well as in all other mishaps connected with *telefericas*, inquiries which I pursued during the whole time I spent on the Italian front failed to reveal a single instance in which an actual passenger had lost his life. Hairbreadth escapes and rescues I heard of by the score. The story of one of the most remarkable of the latter was related by no less a personage than the brave and distinguished Colonel "Peppino" Garibaldi, grandson of the Liberator, and hero of the famous capture of the peak of the Col di Lano.

While I was staying with Colonel Garibaldi in the Dolomites last winter the station of a *teleferica* which I had been expecting to use on the morrow in going up to the lines on the glacier of the Marmolada was carried away by an avalanche, which also killed one of the engineers. It was the receipt of the news of this disaster which led my host to remark that one of the most spectacularly brave feats he had ever heard of had been performed by an Alpino the previous winter in connection with putting right a stalled car on this very span of cableway which had just been destroyed.

"At this stage of the game," said Colonel Garibaldi, who is fluent in American idiom as a consequence of his many revolutionary campaigns in both North and South America, "they were not grooving the wheels of the *teleferica* basket deeply enough, with the result that they were occasionally blown off the cables by strong winds. So far as we could, the carrying of passengers was suspended during blizzards, but of course every now and then an occasion would arise when the chance had to be taken. That was how it happened that a staff officer from the Comando Supremo, who had never been on a *teleferica* before, was in a basket which was blown from the cable of the first Marmolada span at the height of a heavy storm last March. The basket was within a couple of hundred meters of the end of its journey when the derailment of its two forward wheels occurred—in fact, it was a good deal nearer 'land' in that direction than downwards, where there was a clear drop of three or four hundred meters onto frozen snow.

"If the air is quiet, a basket (going up, of course; the 'down' one runs by gravity) with only one pair of wheels off can usually be 'nursed' along the cable by gentle tugs from the engine, and that was what the engineers tried to do in this instance. The side pressure of the wind was too strong, however, and within a meter or two the cable wedged in beside the wheels and jammed hard. If there had not been a man in the basket, they would simply have sped up the engine and gone on pulling until either the basket came up or something broke. If the former, all was well; if the latter, they picked up the pieces as soon as the weather permitted, rushed their repairs, and started up again. With a passenger—and especially a staff officer—to reckon with, it was a different proposition.

"Luckily the chap kept his nerve, and between snow flurries they could see him working hard trying to get the wheels on again. An expert *teleferica* lineman can, with luck, occasionally put a pair of wheels back on the track alone; but unless one understands exactly how to take his weight off the basket by hanging over the cable the job is as hopeless as trying to lift yourself by your boot-straps. This chap was anything but an expert, and, after fumbling with numbing fingers for ten or fifteen minutes, he waved his hand with a gesture of despair and sank back into the bottom of the heeled-over basket.

"The Alpino has lived among blizzards all his life, and is able to figure pretty closely how much resistance is left in a man exposed to wind and cold under any given conditions. They knew that a man tucked in comfortably in a basket on an even keel waiting for engine repairs is good for several times as long as one hanging on for dear life to the sides of an apparently hopelessly stalled and half-upset basket. Most of the men watching from the station gave the poor chap from fifteen to twenty minutes; it was only the most optimistic who said half an hour. In any case, there was only one thing to do—to send a man down to the disabled basket; and a lineman who had shortly before performed a similar feat successfully when a load of badly needed shells was stalled on the cable volunteered to do it.

"Suspending the intrepid fellow from the cable in a hastily rigged harness hung from a spare pair of wheels, they tied a long line round his waist and let him coast down by gravity to the basket. The line, paid out slowly, kept him from gaining too much momentum. The journey—an easy feat for a man with a good head—was made without mishap. The officer's mind was still clear and his nerve unbroken, but, numb with cold and on the verge of physical collapse, he was unable to lift a finger to save himself. The most he could do was to maintain his hold, and even that he could not be expected to do for long.

"For some time the Alpino, still suspended in his harness, put forth all his strength in an endeavor to lift the basket sufficiently to allow the displaced wheels to slip back onto the cable, but there was no way to bring enough force to bear to be of any use, and, after nearly spilling out the man he was trying to save, he gave it up. Next he tried to lighten the basket of the weight of the officer by passing a couple of hitches of the bight of the line around him and tricing him up to the cable immediately overhead. He succeeded in his immediate end, but in doing so defeated his ultimate one. The body of the officer swung clear of the bottom of the basket, but hung in such a way that the Alpino could not himself get in the proper position to lift from.

"By now it was evident to the would-be rescuer that nothing

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could be accomplished unless the helpless officer were got clear of the car entirely, and this could be effected only by changing places with him. How the resolute fellow did it Heaven and the special providence which always sees the Alpino through only know. They paid him out a couple of meters more of line when they felt him tugging for it, and then they had a snow-blurred vision of him scrambling about the tilted car for three or four busy minutes. Finally they got the short, sharp, double tug which was the signal he had arranged to give in the event that he failed in his attempt and wanted to be drawn back.

"Not a little cast down over this development, they began hauling in from the station, only to feel the more apprehension when they saw it was a limp and apparently lifeless body that was coming up to them out of the storm. A reassuring yodel rolled up from the misty depths at this juncture, however, and the sharpest-eyed of them announced that he could see his comrade 'jackknifed' over the cable jerking the basket straight. Even before the body of the swooned officer, with its wind-blown arms and legs flopping like those of a scarecrow, was swung on to the landing and released from its harness, the ringing bang of a steel spanner on the cable gave the familiar signal of 'Haul away!'

"He came up (so his captain told me later)," concluded Colonel Garibaldi, "sitting on the rim of the basket with his eagle's feather rasping right along the sagging cable all the way, his hobnailed boots drumming a tattoo on the steel bottom, and singing the Alpini marching song in a voice that set the echoes ringing above the howling of the storm."

MANIA TEUTONICA

A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE WAR

BY JOSEPH JASTROW

PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Professor Jastrow is one of the distinguished psychologists of this country. Born in Europe, the son of a clergyman, he came to this country in very early childhood, and is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and of Johns Hopkins University. He is the author of several well-known books in his field, such as "Character and Temperament," "The Qualities of Men," and "The Sub-Conscious," and will at an early date publish another volume, suggested by the war, entitled "The Psychology of Conviction," which, among other subjects, will discuss the mental and moral bases of pacifism and militarism. He was one of the earliest experimenters in the use of laboratory tests for the study of physiological psychology. In employing this method the psychologist, with the aid of a series of ingenious apparatuses, tests his subjects as to the rapidity and accuracy with which they receive mental impressions from external physiological sensations. The accuracy and quickness with which these mental impressions react upon the judgment and muscular action are also measured in the same way. The United States has for the first time in any military organization recognized the value of such psychological tests. The abnormality of German psychology in the war has been one of the greatest puzzles of the conflict. No one can speak with more authority on this phase of the war problem than Professor Jastrow.—THE EDITORS.

THE catastrophe of 1914 and the mental reactions to it present to the psychologist a distinctive problem. His own reaction to the war is inevitably personal; yet his professional interest claims expression. It is possible—and after three years it is desirable—to attain an objective view of the sweeping reconstruction of life that has come upon us, turning all thoughts, occupations, and values from their accustomed channels. The readjustments demanded by the world war appear psychologically as contributions to the genesis of conviction. So to regard them implies no detachment either from the impressive national uprisings, the heroic sacrifices, or from the unspeakable horrors of warfare, the tragedy of civilization annulled, the havoc and waste, the supreme loss of men and humanity. It implies the attempt to look below and beyond these to the underlying causes and motives for action and attitude, and to see these reflected in the convictions of men under the coercion of so violent a reconstruction of the adjusted outlook of peaceful venture.

The personal conviction must first be declared. I speak as a convinced pacifist, but use that term in its authentic meaning, undisturbed by the present embattled situation. I speak as one convinced in 1914 as in 1917 that it was the duty of the United States to declare its position when Belgium was invaded. The failure to do so remains, in my opinion, the supreme mistake that has cost us and the world dear. As a pacifist I decline to consider such a step as equivalent to a declaration of war, as I continue to decline to think of international adjustments in terms of militaristic solutions. I speak as one convinced in 1914 as in 1917 that Germany's position must be opposed to the last ditch, with the entire resources of our great Republic; to that *Germania delenda est* I hold. The world must make it unsafe for any militaristic-minded nation to assert itself; for that is the Germania, and that alone, which is to be destroyed. I believe it was incumbent upon the leaders of men—leaders of opinion as of official policy—to foresee in 1914 the situation of 1917, and from the single fate of Belgium to learn all. The lack of foresight—of prophetic vision, if you will—may be pardonable, but it is not creditable. Obviously I believe that America's entry into the war was long ago, as it is so clearly in 1917, supremely justifiable. As a pacifist I look upon the Allied cause as a war to end war, as a gigantic international determination to establish pacifism; for to make the world safe for democracy is to make it safe for pacifism. In this enterprise the most avowedly pacifist nation must take a leading part. These convictions remain in 1917 the convictions of 1914, tragically reinforced.

In an important respect my views have changed; this change I desire to emphasize. Along with others, I looked upon the situation as a war, as a regrettable contest of interests, a fateful rivalry of international jealousies. I looked upon Germany's conduct of the war as a shocking demonstration of the uncertainty of civilization, a terrible lesson in the menace of militarism. I have now ceased to look upon Germany's position and actions under the aspect of war, for they have ceased to be intelligible to me in that light. I have come to consider the state of the German mind as a state of madness assuming a military form; the madness is far more significant than the military expression.

All intense enthusiasms—worthy and unworthy alike—are liable to disaster; insanity is the ultimate issue. In a case of religious mania the insanity is the essential fact; that it takes the form of religious fanaticism is an important but not the chief consideration in diagnosis or treatment. When a Sultan proclaims a jehad, or holy war, we, in our Occidental remoteness, are sufficiently detached to recognize that the massacres that follow are expressions of crazed fanaticism rather than military operations. Psychologically considered, war madness is primarily madness and not warfare. Germany has run amuck among the nations. The tragedy of the case is that the patient must be overpowered to be cured.

Under this view of the case of Germany, the perspective of German claims and deeds is markedly altered. The actions and desires of a patient are considered not as policies, but as symptoms. When the patient is a nation collectively, incidents that may be of slight political consequence may be altogether the most enlightening clinically. *Mania Teutonica* is a singular malady; may it long remain so! It may, however, be classified. It belongs to the rather long list of contagious mental epidemics to which humanity is subject. This is not the first time that large sections of European populations have gone mad—mad in spots and under the provocation of intense passions; nor is it the first time that those affected have cultivated and exulted in their aberrations. Even so limited a survey as Hecker's "The

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Mental Epidemics of the Middle Ages" is pertinent reading to-day, especially in Germany, where the book was written. The helpful lesson which the story of these sporadic waves of collective and stimulated aberration teaches is this: that while people lose sanity rapidly and collectively with the acceleration of a spreading contagion, the loss is temporary; and that while they recover individually and slowly through the stability of immune groups, they do recover. The evidence that such groups exist in Germany, though effectively discouraged in expression, is strong enough to make it worth our while to support their difficult efforts in the cause of sanity. As a psychological-political policy the treatment of the case of Germany suggests the encouragement of all internal movements that tend to resist the devastating sweep of the collective obsession. For the overpowering from without—which must be unremittingly pursued because the case has gone beyond remedial treatment—cannot replace recovery from within by the heroic efforts of a saving remnant. It is unpsychological to believe that the epidemic is universal or incurable. The problem of the Allies is not merely to defeat Germany, which is a police measure, but to cure Germany or help a deluded Germany to recover her sanity—which is a psychological enterprise, as formidable, it may be, as any military campaign.

I have no intention to exaggerate the analogy of the German position to a pathological issue, nor to ignore the fact that Germany's original aggression was taken as a deliberate political step. But, once under way, the course of thought and feeling, of word and deed, presents the typical features of delusional mania. Even at the outset the complete incapacity of official and intellectual Germany to anticipate the reception on the part of the enlightened nations of their violation of the international code argues for a blindness of a delusional order. It is characteristic of collective mania that the intellectual soil must be prepared for rapid absorption when the seed comes to be sown. The resistances which sanity sets up must be overcome. The German military policy was artificially fostered until it sprouted as the military delusion. *Der Tag* became an obsession. In its symptoms *mania Teutonica* is closely analogous to well-recognized clinical cases in which the mind loses the restraints of a sane control of impulse, and thought and action are at the mercy of a disordered brain. The delusion of grandeur, the megalomania of an exalted superiority, the boastful vaunt of self and confident disdain of others, the effervescent sense of power and empire—all these may be observed in the wards of the insane. A dose of hasheesh is a possible but uncertain mode of entering the realm of illusion, and in so far of understanding the intoxication of Germany.

That the Germany of 1914 to 1917 presents a case of mania under military form, and not war intensely pursued, is convincingly shown by contrast with the Allied nations, who are equally at war but not maddened by it. Their loyalty and devotion are at least as firm, their purpose as steadfast, their sacrifice as great, their enthusiasm for the military game, if that is what must be, as pronounced; but the entire attitude from general to private, from Cabinet member to the obscure civilian, is totally different. The prevailing attitude of the Allies is the common and casual note in British letters from the front—There's a nasty job to be done, but we must see it through. In contrast, "The Hymn of Hate," the pompous pronouncements, the suspicion of persecution, the ascription of evil designs to others, the blindness to one's own crimes—all these are far more intelligible as delusional symptoms than as a military policy; and as a group they are fully as characteristic (suspicion and hate being also well-recognized expressions in abnormal complexes) as the mania of exaltation with which they combine. Both present accredited forms of loss of mental balance. A third group of symptoms—cruelty and terrorism—may be similarly interpreted. The excesses of warfare doubtless occur in all camps; in so far they represent the common liability of human passion when restraint is removed. But a policy of *Schrecklichkeit* and its execution cannot be so disposed of; it fits in too well with the general diagnosis. It is more charitable to the German to assume that his mind must be disordered to demand the violent satisfactions of arson, pillage, and deviltry unmentionable.

Distinctions must be drawn in the interpretation of symptoms—a different range of distinctions from those applicable to policy. It is a recognized principle that a kindred order of mental invasion produces different types of symptoms according to the quality and experience of the mind invaded. There is, for example, a coarse and a refined hysteria, a grossly physical and a subtly intellectual response to its common disturbing urgency. *Mania Teutonica* comes forward in the wild excesses and reckless cruelty, the sacrilege and terrorism, of Louvain, where the execution is by the common ranks of the population. In another setting it produces not only "The Hymn of Hate," but its eager echo among all classes; the celebration, in holiday spirit, of the dastardly outrage of the Lusitania; the striking of medals to commemorate it; and the attacks by airships on unprotected seaside towns. In yet another order of mind it produces the rabid, though deliberate, defense of violations of morality and humanity upon the part of pulpit and press. Naturally the mania proceeds upon a congenial and a cultivated soil. Under ordinary twentieth-century circumstances, a mental epidemic cannot be produced at will, for it meets with too many and too strong resistances. Its spread with such amazing rapidity in Germany is due to the carefully fostered habit of obedience and to a long-standing deference to state authority and a cultivated military insolence, yet also to some inherent weakness in the German character that makes it ready to accept the sop of an inflated pride in exchange for the birthright of individual liberty. And yet one cannot suppose that there were no resistances favoring honorable action and a decent regard for others' rights, that had to be broken down before the inoculation could be so generally successful; that these resistances were not so strong as one supposed is the unwelcome conclusion.

Mania Teutonica in saturnalian abandon in Belgium under the sudden goad of passion and physical excess is disgraceful yet intelligible; but those who gave the orders and trumped up vain excuses have no such vindication, damning as it is. The double dealing in diplomatic relations is yet more damning, because its source is higher up. Yet quite as significant psychologically, though with slight bearing upon military or political policy, are the reactions of the intellectuals of Germany; these form the convincing if more refined confirmation of the diagnosis that, unlike Germany's profession as to the war, is really forced upon us. For, if anywhere one may expect to find the saving remnants, the citadels of resistance to a sweeping madness, it would be among the most disciplined minds, trained to the objective verdicts of science and history. Let there be no indiscriminate condemnation. There doubtless were and are in Germany many members of the intellectual class regretfully ashamed of their country's actions, who have remained discreet in utterance or condemned to silence by social forces from without and a patriotic conscience from within. They must recognize that Germany has dragged her reputation of before 1914 to an abyss of shame from which only her own reconstruction, however aided by the condemnation on the part of other nations, can rescue her. The responsibility remains with the responsible minds. A mania of this order is the product of a deliberate encouragement. A modern nation protects itself against mental contagion as against plague. Deliberately to poison minds is even worse than poisoning wells; both use the weapons of science in an unholy cause. Viewed morally, the action of Germany stands as a treacherous betrayal of the world's trust in her integrity; with that verdict is coupled the question as to where responsibility of policy is concentrated, and where the irresponsibility of mania begins.

However, such considerations are pertinent mainly for the light they shed upon the state of conviction of the German mind and in proof of the conviction in our minds that the possibility of undoing the work of civilization is still a liability; for if *Mania Teutonica* prevails, modern civilization is doomed. Contrast the Germany of before 1914 as we knew it or considered it with the Germany of 1914 to 1917 as we know it to our consternation, and we face the most staggering contribution to the psychology of conviction that the modern mind has had to encounter. It is incomprehensible as warfare; it is at least more comprehensible as insanity.

It is, then, my opinion that a psychological view of this world war cannot proceed upon the formal assumption that there is a conflict with a parallel psychology of the two contestants. So

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far as the machinery and enlistment and enterprise of warfare go, this is doubtless true; but there the resemblance stops. No one denies that a German may feel for his cause the same sense of devotion as we do for ours; but the setting of the conviction in the common moral and historical background of humanity, as well as its expression in thought and deed, is so utterly different that the verdict of the deeper psychology must stand.

The genesis of one's own convictions, of the convictions of the common enemy, which creates the position of 1914 to 1917, and the convictions of one's friends and fellow-citizens, form the intimate basis for the interpretation of the world war in terms of the accompanying psychological reactions. In regard to the last, I confess to a considerable disappointment and some measure of mystification. In 1914 it was obvious and natural that men's convictions—I speak particularly of thoughtful, responsible, and influential men—should follow the official clue. The slogan was neutrality. Neutrality, public and private, was proclaimed as the patriotic virtue. This, we were told, is a European quarrel, not ours; and, like all wars, with rights and wrongs on both sides. To our sorrow, we have learned that it is not that kind of a war at all, that it is unlike all previous wars, that it concerns us as intimately as any event since we became a nation. The complacent acceptance of the 1914 attitude by thinking men as a correct diagnosis and a proper position was a disappointment, though an intelligible one. Yet, as viewed by the student of conviction, the request for neutrality as addressed to the thinker was substantially an appeal to ignore his capacity for judgment. There were many protesting surrenders, possibly more sacrificial ones, and not a few outspoken, even rebellious, protests. But the demonstration as a whole was far more creditable to American charity and generosity of view than to American foresight and logical acumen. The chief justification was the refusal to believe that Germany would so completely disregard the laws of nations and the spirit of fair play and humanity. It required a cumulative series of aggressive attacks upon American lives and interests, and the evidence of disgraceful intrigues and underhand betrayal of our patience and good faith, to arouse us to the breaking point. The consolation lies in the testimony borne by the years 1914 to 1917 to the quality of American sanity. Through it all we kept our heads; and our convictions are the sturdier for the proved confidence in their stability.

It is also a disappointment to find in 1917 the supporters of the virtue of neutrality suddenly turned into eloquent moralizers upon the iniquities of the very same actions which they accepted in unprotesting silence in 1914—not, of course, to find them now thus disposed, but to find the change accomplished without any sense of inconsistency, without explanation, without confession of previous incompetence. Convictions should be built of sterner stuff, and men who think and venture to lead should be guided by a compass and not by a weather-vane. This exhibition in the psychology of conviction tries one's faith in the independence of mind of one's esteemed fellow-citizens. It is hard to shake off the conviction that the political habit of jumping on the loaded band-wagon may account for the transformation, and not too creditably.

But disappointment passes to amazement when we observe men of sterling mental qualities ready to ignore the case of Belgium and all that followed it, even to palliate and excuse. For these are men whom we know, whose judgments we respect. It is true that most of them are of German origin or affiliation, though the affiliation is not always direct or intimate; and some of them are not so bound. But this neither excuses nor explains. Had these men been as ready in their condemnation of Germany's conduct of the war as in acceptance of Germany's plea of justification in entering the war, we should have understood, though in complete disagreement. But to find the defense of violations which if committed by others would receive the severest condemnation, the absolute and complete excommunication from the civilized world—that is seriously disturbing. It even suggests that *Mania Teutonica* can send its contagion beyond the seas and infect the minds of those with other traditions, with transferred allegiance. The cases are sporadic, truly; but, even so, their mystery is not readily removed.

When the situation is reviewed in a three years' perspective, the moral that impresses itself upon the psychological mind is the uncertainty of judgment under the stress of tradition. The dead hand of the past still weighs heavily upon our logical disposition. We knew what wars have been and why; we knew that war is war, and at its best is hell; we knew something of diplomatic traditions and the deference which they command. Under these dominating conceptions, the true nature of what was going on in 1914 to 1917 in large measure escaped us. We read about military movements, strategies, trench warfare, novel methods of destruction, and the defenses against them. The amazing vast panorama of the west front and of the yet more complicated east front, the ominous approach to Paris, the disaster of the Dardanelles, and other concrete and gigantic incidents—these filled our minds as the salient features of the war. Gradually we realized that the true issues of the war were the restraints which nations were willing to exercise in the means employed. Poisonous gases, air raids on defenseless civilians, the shelling of hospital ships and Red Cross stations, the fate of Rheims and many another priceless heirloom of the past, deportations and forced labor of prisoners, diplomatic trickery and plotting against neutrals, and the ruthless submarine—these became the real issues, and all of them moral ones. If such violations of international faith can be committed and defended, war is not war, but diabolical piracy. It seemed inconceivable that a nation would devise a Machiavellian plot to gain the confidence of the world by profession, and secretly betray the good faith with which these professions were accepted, to the undoing of the moral foundations upon which civilization is and must be built. For that is where we come out. Germany's stake was the respect and trust of the nations; she risked her moral standing; and, whatever the outcome, she has lost—lost honor, reputation, confidence. She stands a moral bankrupt, self-convicted.

To achieve their purpose the responsible directors of Germany's course had to spread delusion and mania among the people; for while officials declare war, the people do the fighting and must be kept in fighting mood. Once again the psychological equipment is as important as the military one; it figures as the morale of the troops, and reflects the national temper and tradition as does nothing else. For this end noble and defensible professions must be maintained as well as the futile myth of the superiority of Germany and Germans to all other peoples; the sham excuse of action in self-defense must be circulated and military necessity urged to justify the basest of crimes. Not even Germany accepts the responsibility for the war, but masks its batteries in a network of plausible pretense. The ultimate responsibility of responsible Germany is for the inoculation of its people with an insidious *Mania Teutonica;* and terrible will be the revenge when the deluded people recovers its sanity and asserts its power. For so much of prophecy I venture, that such will be the issue. However charitably we look upon the state of mind that now prevails in Germany, we realize that this psychological condition forms a vital part of the problem that confronts us. I still cherish and try to embrace the conviction that there would be little difficulty in dealing with a sane Germany under responsible control—which in these days is equivalent to a democratic control. The difficulty is to fight the disease and save the patient. The peculiar difficulty lies in the relation of the German Empire to its Kaiser, and the unfortunate evidence, of many years' standing, that the source of the contagion may be in no small measure the personality of its ruler. Clearly, diagnosis cannot directly prescribe treatment, because by the nature of things the world cannot establish a hospital for insane nations. We must see the thing through on the diplomatic basis supported by military measures. But the greatest support is in the allied determination of great nations that sanity as well as justice shall prevail.

In such a consummation a survey of the rôle of conviction in the amazing years 1914 to 1917 has a modest place. It raises the issue of madness or warfare, according as we judge by outward actions or by their source in conviction. It shows anew that the sanity of a nation is among its most precious assets; that political policy proceeds upon an underlying psychology. The departure in any measure from the road of sanity is an invitation to disaster. Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.

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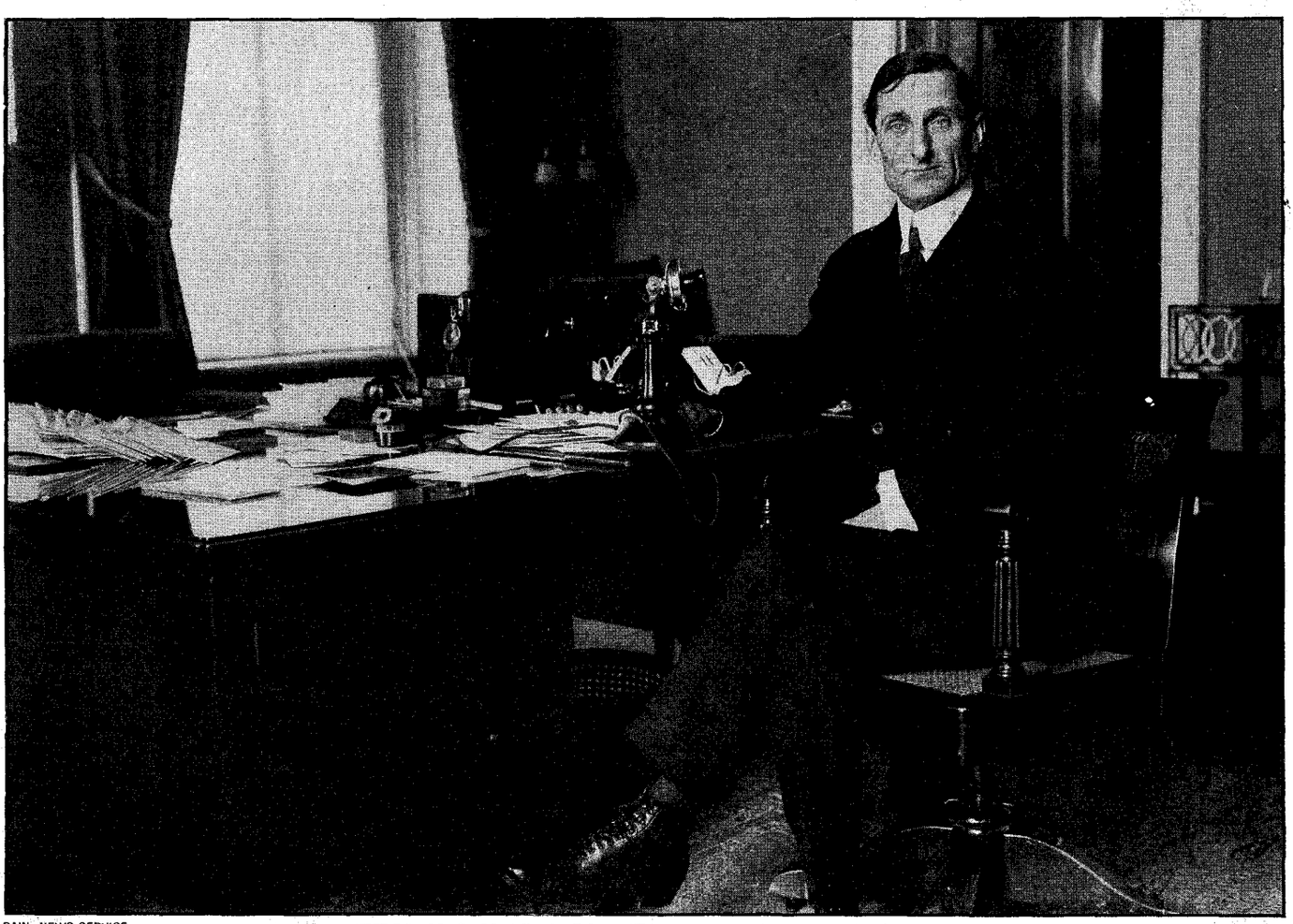

BAIN NEWS SERVICE

WILLIAM G. McADOO, DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF RAILROADS

Mr. McAdoo now holds five important positions under the United States Government—Secretary of the Treasury, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank system, Chairman of the Federal Farm Loan Board, Chairman of the International High Commission (to facilitate commerce in the Western Hemisphere), and Director-General of Railroads

(C) HARRIS & EWING

A WASHINGTON BAR TRANSFORMED INTO A POST-OFFICE

Washington, D. C., went "dry" a few weeks ago, and as a result one of its palatial bars was turned into a branch post-office during the holiday rush. Why cannot the factories that have supplied such bars be likewise turned to useful service?

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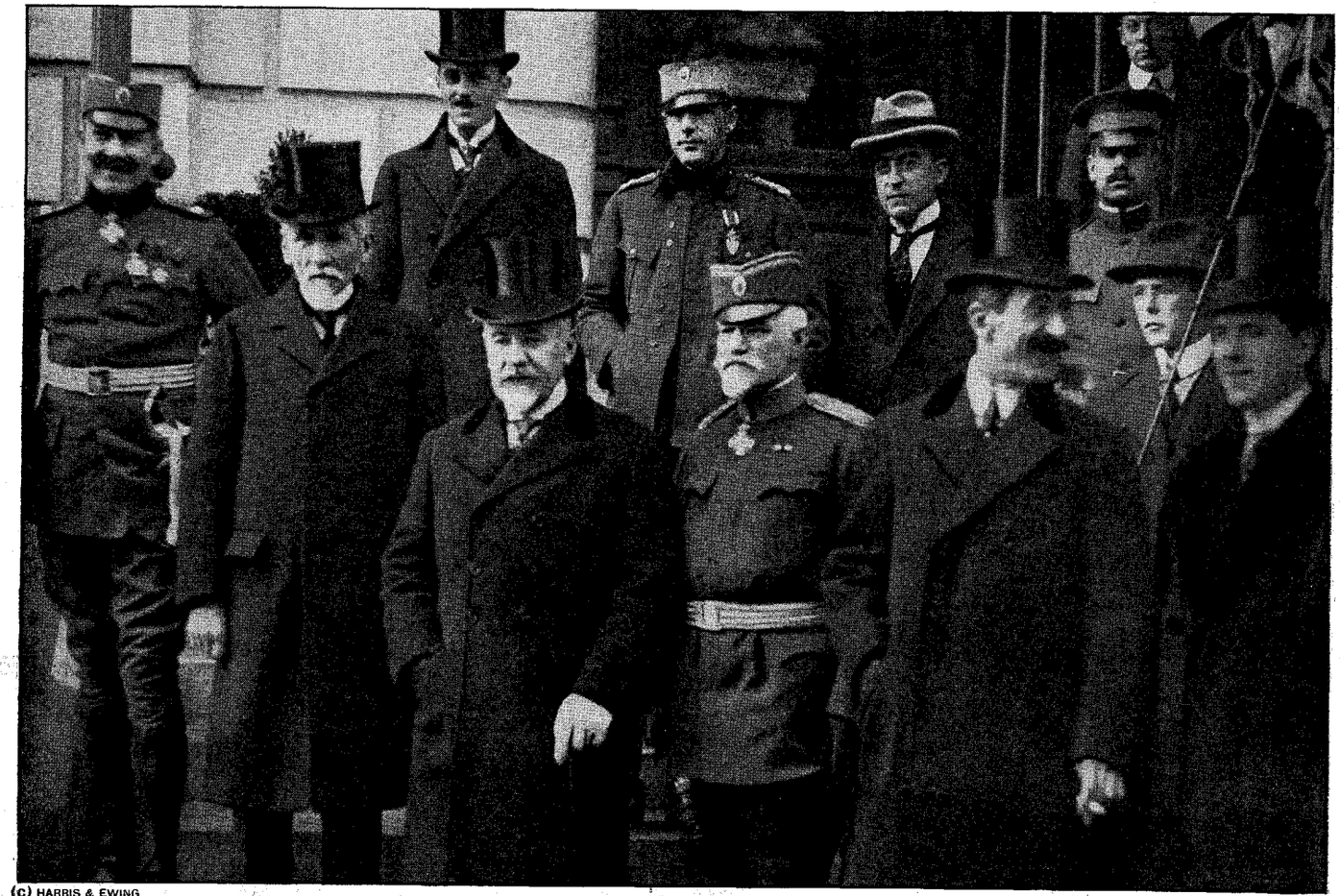

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SERBIA, CONQUERED BUT NOT HOPELESS, ASKS HELP FROM AMERICA THROUGH A MISSION TO US

The photograph, taken in Washington, shows, left to right, Lieut.-Col. Nenadovitch; Dr. Losanitch, former Serbian Minister in London; Dr. Vesnitch, head of the Mission (lower); Vladislav Martinatz (upper); next to him (top row), Captain Yovitchitch; on the bottom row in uniform, General Rashitch; and next to him M. Michailovitch, Serbian Minister to the United States

CENTRAL NEWS SERVICE

VICE-ADMIRAL WEMYSS, NOW GREAT BRITAIN'S FIRST SEA LORD

Admiral Wemyss succeeds Admiral Jellicoe as head of the British Admiralty. He is somewhat younger than his predecessor, being in his fifty-fourth year. He entered the navy at the age of thirteen, became Captain in 1901 and Rear-Admiral in 1912

BAIN NEWS SERVICE

VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON, EXPLORER

Stefansson has been for more than four years in the Arctic regions. He left Victoria in 1913 at the head of a Canadian expedition. His vessel, the Karluk, was lost, and on several occasions it was reported that the explorer himself had perished. He has now been heard from at Herschell Island as apparently out of danger

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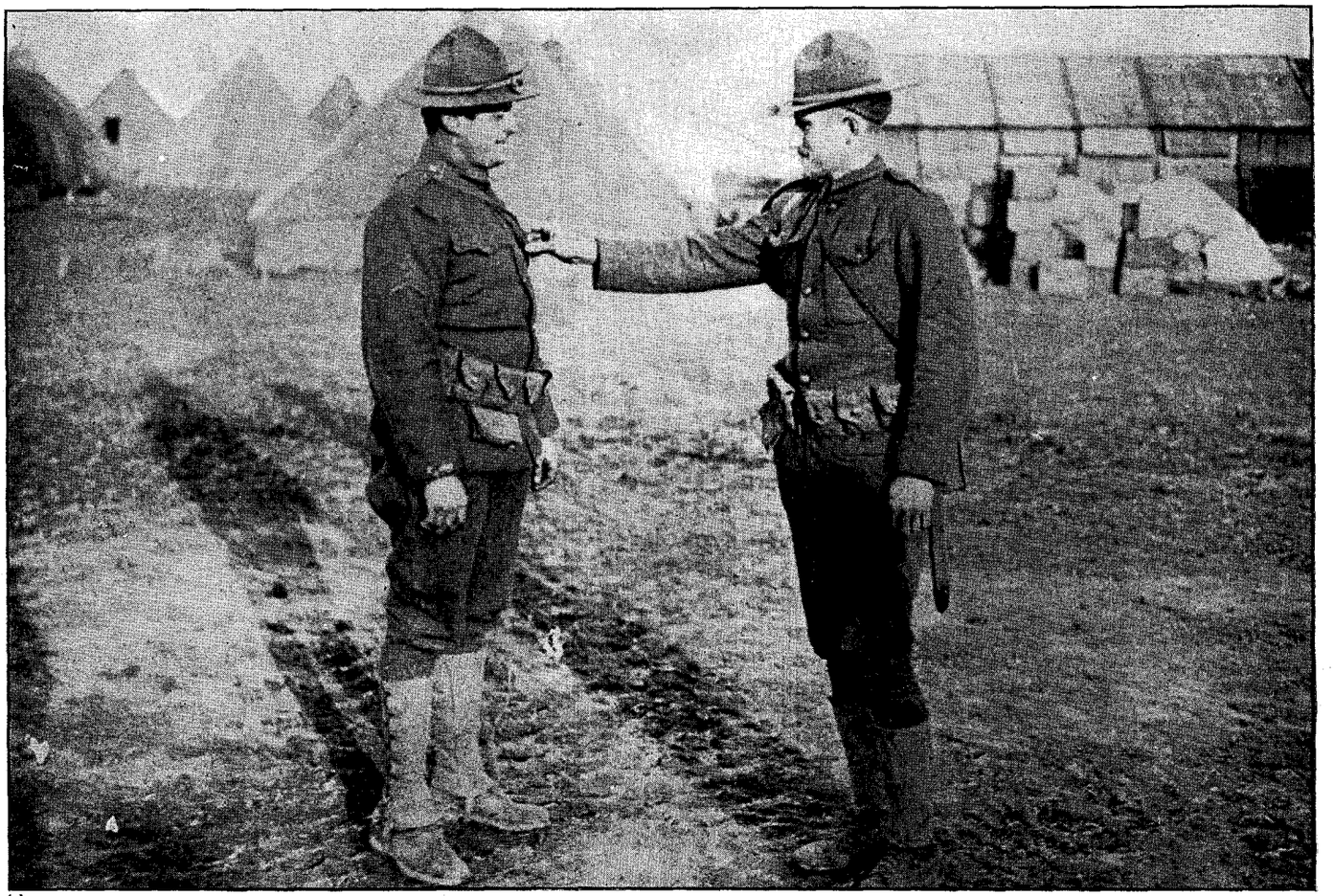

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AMERICAN ENGINEERS WHO "MADE GOOD" AT THE FRONT

The men shown in the above photograph are reported as among the American engineers who fought off a German attack when isolated from the main force. These two men brought a wounded officer to safety through the barrage. Their bravery, it is said, won high commendation from Field Marshal Haig

(c) UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

CAPTURED AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN GERMANY

This picture comes to America through British official sources as having been published in a German periodical. At the extreme left is a German officer who seems to be enjoying the uncomfortable predicament of our men whom the fortunes of war have put into the hands of their enemies. It is surmised that these may be some of the American prisoners taken in the trench assault in which Hay, Gresham, and Enright, the first American soldiers to die on the fighting line, were killed

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THE GOB

BY ELBERT BALDWIN

WHAT is a "gob"?

A fish out of water would be the nearest parallel—just about as comfortable, as natural, as happy in an element other than his own. The "gob" used to be like any other masculine sophisticated in the ways of his world, who, in consequence, dealt with calm assurance with his fellows. He may have been a clerk, a brakeman, anything, even a carefully tailored person who drew down an enviable, unearned salary. Voluntarily he may have flopped or forcefully been drawn out of his native element. At any rate, whatever he may have been he is no longer.

There was a time when "gob" applied to any naval seaman, as a general term to designate a class, and, if it bore a note of social distinction, it was the general one between the officer and the enlisted man. That was before we went to war, before a horde of land-bred beings—the forces of the U. S. N. R. F.—invaded the special province of the sea, committed sacrilege, and in their ignorance spoke on board a battle-ship of "stairs" and "floors" and "windows." Since then has come a change. The previously enlisted man, the "regular," basks in a new superiority. The word is more particular. I know. I have just gone to sea. I am a gob.

A year or so before this country entered on hostilities the lack of men needed fully to man our war-ships in emergency gave rise to an organization known as the United States Naval Reserve Force—the U. S. N. R. F.—composed of men who in the time of peace pursued their civilian occupations, standing, however, ready for instant service should hostilities arise. The Naval Civilian Cruise of 1916 will be remembered as the first effort to organize this body and give it training.

When war broke out, its meager ranks swelled suddenly. The Navy clung to its four-year term of service. The Reserve offered the same enlistment term, but its members were subject to active duty for the duration of hostilities alone. The opportunity of advancement was greater. It was a natural choice.

For some, ordered to training camps with others no more experienced than were they, the transition to a seaman—though at best a half-baked seaman—came more easily. For those of us abruptly placed on active service it was a jolt. No life is more conventional than naval life—the routine of the day, appearance, even speech. We knew little or nothing of these conventionalities. It was another sphere.

I never wore décolleté promiscuously before. My tie had always knotted at the neck, not on my stomach. Trousers used to end in cuffs, not embryonic skirts that wrap themselves about the other ankle. Nor comes it naturally to wear upon your head a broadcloth pancake, slanted hilariously as might the halo of a tipsy saint, and decorated with gilt letters. An unsuspected sentiment attaches itself to that ancient suit of "cits" from which I made the change, now hanging empty in a closet. Some day I shall write an ode about that suit—they say war stimulates the arts—for it is the token and the measure of a bygone ease and comfort. How much of personality is manufactured at the tailor's!

The first paralysis of unfamiliarities has somewhat lessened now, but were I tempted to forget my own first spasm, the spectacle of new men suffering the ordeal prevents me. From genial human beings rise frozen, gaping images in "blues;" speechless, for the very words with which the citizens of their new world communicate are unintelligible; motionless, for legs are somewhere lost beneath in flapping serge and arms incased in billowy sleeves that end in binding wristlets. They finger their bare throats as though surprised to find that they possessed them, and, like matches floating in a finger-bowl, draw imperceptibly together, grouped in stupefaction. "What happens to us next?"

Our first steps vary, for some are placed on ships and some in yards, and others on power-boats that now patrol the coast. We all learn differently, according to our situation. But sooner or later there develops in us all a point of view; sooner or later we meet and learn the meaning of the phrase "seagoing," criterion of propriety at sea, highest expression of the seaman's approbation. It works a metamorphosis! It points a goal. This wilderness of all things strange is of the standard of the term, of men as well as things. To be a part of it becomes the object. The war may end to-morrow and the balance of our lives be spent in civil occupation. What matter? It is as though the gangway of association were drawn on board; pasts or futurities are of no more concern. Our present destiny is on the sea.

The gob faces no easy undertaking. Little of his former experience has bearing on the new, yet he must sum up within himself knowledge of the innumerable conventionalities which form the life at sea as truly as on land. Where things are done cycles of human living have evolved the way to do them. Incentives help him little. Patriotism probably brought him into service, a theoretical love of ships and shipping to the Navy. Probably he signed himself at the first opportunity with "U. S. N. R. F." below his name as symbol of his motive. But other men were in the Navy before him. It is a shock to hear the interpretation of these Regulars—"U Shall Never Reach France"—sardonically making merry with his pride. He may not have been the butt of the remark, but, if he is wise, he nevertheless cautiously removes all signs of Stars and Stripes in his behavior, and keeps his patriotism strictly to himself thereafter.

He is not called upon immediately to sacrifice his life and be a hero. He is called upon instead to man a squilgee—of which he never heard before—and scrub decks; to part with the skin of his feet in the lye-water with which the operation is occasionally performed. He coals ship until his unaccustomed back aches with the weight of heavy baskets and his lungs smart with the dust. He is clumsy. He is "bawled out" and his feelings are injured. At night he falls out of his hammock, to the inexpressible delight of more experienced aviators peering from their suspended canvas Zeppelins. Seldom can he ever laugh *with* the crowd, for what is there funny in the fact that he should spend hours seeking the individual with the key to the anchor watch, run afoul of the officer of the deck, and appeal to him for assistance? Illuminative information which comes later as to the nature of an anchor watch brings mortification rather than a sense of mirth.

Through every minute of the day he stumbles over his ignorance and sprawls into discouragements. The field of unfamiliarities seems endless. It nearly is. The more one learns, the more there is to learn through the application of the newly acquired knowledge. Patriotism! Self-sacrifice! It takes a motive more immediate and personal than these ultimate ideals. It takes persistency—and plenty of it. Then, one of these days, he graduates. He ceases to be a gob. He has become seagoing. He is a seaman by experience as by name.

The gob parted with his position in society when he boarded his ship. Aboard ship he wins his way into society again, but it is another social sphere than was his first. We of the land, because our interests are of the land, are prone to disregard, if we have any knowledge of, this life of the sea. Our vision has been limited to the horizon seen from shore. We look upon the ocean as a barren, unpeopled waste. We possibly have even crossed that waste, and were unconscious that the ship moved not of itself but through the agency of highly specialized human intelligence. The sailors seen occasionally on deck were merely curiosities, like other fixtures of the ship. We never saw the "black gang," the miniature army whose sweating bodies, naked to the waist, toiled at the fires in the regions, unexplored, below. We merely entered a hotel, ate and slept and passed our time away, and left our hostelry when it had reached another port. But of the manner of its going we were ignorant.

Those of us who now are gobs had had no better understanding. That is why it seems another world in which we live, a Mars in which life was a theory and is now a fact and part of our experience. What of these Martians who, we find, live as

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naturally at sea as once we did on land? What of this society in which at first we were interlopers, and of which we gradually have come to form a part?

It lacks the refinements, or what we are pleased to call the refinements, of the land. There are no artificialities, no affectations, no reserves. It is a point-blank sort of life. It bowls you over. It continues to bowl you over as long as you permit. Eventually you stand more squarely on your feet. You've got to. You must have your footing to meet the shock of green water that comes over the bow in storm; another sort of footing to meet the impact of crude human relationships. The very act of shaking hands is a bone-crushing process.

The sea permits no luxuries, no indulgences. The life of the sea is the struggle for self-preservation twenty-four hours in the twenty-four. There is no room for aught but indispensable comforts, no time for distractions. Men of the sea are men stripped to their basic selves, their qualities, good and bad, on the scale of their heavy-muscled bodies—not supermen, but men with no veneer to cloak them. The gob, as he first comes among them, is a fragile thing.

There will be an influx of a new virility come to America through the war, from Army and Navy both, and with it a new democracy. There will be no room for the snob, the man who, from whatever mistaken notion of himself, feels himself superior and holds himself aloof. One half will know how the other half lives, having pooled their lives, and all will know something more and be more conscious of the realm of the sea, its life, which since the days of clipper ships America has neglected.

The gob has a significance greater than his present service. He forms the nucleus of a new body of seamen recruited from the land. America is turning again to the sea, is becoming again one of the maritime nations of the world. Not only has the war, which has depleted the shipping of other peoples, increased her own—that is but a beginning. It is her interests which have gone to sea, and she must follow. She has stepped from the seclusion of her Western Hemisphere and entered, finally, into the competition for existence among nations. She has assumed European financial dependency. Her blood is sprinkled on European soil. The sea and the pathways of the sea are to be the roads of her new, greater development.

It does not follow that those of us who are learning the way of life on salt water will, when hostilities cease, continue our present occupation. Some, probably, will continue of inclination, some will be forced to remain through inability to wedge their way into civil occupations when peace will flood all strata of these occupations with suddenly released and surplus men. The proportion matters little. Whether we stay or whether we go, we shall bear a new knowledge, a broader vision. This, in degree as it is intelligent, will be a directing force to our country in her new international position.

REMEMBERING

BY ELOISE ROBINSON

The white oak and the ash and fir
And every tree has stood
And drooped his leaves and made no stir
All day long in the wood,
Nor moved his branches on the air
When night came up the road.

They have no way they can forget
The tall young trees of France;
There is the drip of something wet,
They neither laugh nor dance.
They keep in mind the hickory,
The hawthorn and the pine,
The hazel and the poplar tree
That go down in a line,
How they go stepping quietly
In white moonshine
And make no murmur as they go,
The white pine and the red,
And take their footsteps small and slow
Among the rows of dead.

They hear the birch has given his white
Young body to be slain;
The golden larch, all day and night,
Upon his face has lain;
The olives cannot stand upright,
Their shoes let in the rain.
They think of how the willows have
Been beaten to their knees;
And sycamores, that were so brave,
Are scarred, grim ghosts of trees.
They gravely name the tamarack
And whisper when they tell
Of aspens who brought nothing back
But bodies out of hell.

All day the sad trees did not wink
Their shining leaves, nor dance;
They were remembering, I think,
The tall young trees of France.

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WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY

BY J. MADISON GATHANY, A.M.
HOPE STREET HIGH SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Based on The Outlook of January 2, 1918

Each week an Outline Study of Current History based on the preceding number of The Outlook will be printed for the benefit of current events classes, debating clubs, teachers of history and of English, and the like, and for use in the home and by such individual readers as may desire suggestions in the serious study of current history.—THE EDITORS.

[Those who are using the weekly outline should not attempt to cover the whole of an outline in any one lesson or study. Assign for one lesson selected questions, one or two propositions for discussion, and only such words as are found in the material assigned. Or distribute selected questions among different members of the class or group and have them report their findings to all when assembled. Then have all discuss the questions together.]

I—INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. Topic: The Peace of Vassalage; Patience with Russia.

Reference: Pages 5; 17, 18.

Questions:

1. What has The Outlook said which tends to show that if Russia makes peace with Germany it will be a peace of serfdom? 2. For what reason is Trotsky seeking peace with Germany? 3. How many reasons can you give why Germany does not make definite proposals of peace with Russia? 4. What has Mr. Goldenweiser said (page 17) about American opinion of Russia? What does he think of this opinion? 5. For what reasons does Mr. Goldenweiser believe Russia has not lost her significance as a military force for the present or the future? 6. What do you find in this article ("Patience with Russia") as to who the Bolsheviki are and what their future influence on Russian politics will be? 7. Mr. Goldenweiser speaks of "the blessings of an orderly state organism." How is such an organism produced? What are the "blessings" of such an institution? 8. Study the cartoons on the Russian situation on page 18. Name and discuss the things that these cartoons suggest to you.

B. Topic: Restoration, Reparation; Alsace-Lorraine; Sense—Common and Preferred.

Reference: Page 5; editorial, page 11; 20–22.

Questions:

1. What points did Lloyd George make in his speech on December 20, 1917? Of these which ones ought to receive special attention by Americans? Reasons. 2. Distinguish carefully between restoration and reparation. What, in your opinion, ought Germany to do about these two matters? 3. For what reasons would or would you not allow Germany to join a league of nations at the present time? 4. Which do you prefer, peace with Germany by negotiation or by military victory? Your reasons. 5. For what reasons does The Outlook (page 11) believe the disposition of Alsace-Lorraine by a plebiscite of its inhabitants would be wrong? 6. Tell somewhat at length how Germany has ruled Alsace-Lorraine. 7. What view of the Kaiser and of Germany does Irving Bacheller (pages 20–22) set forth? Is there sufficient evidence that Mr. Bacheller has kept to the facts of German history and German teaching? 8. By all means read Hazen's "Alsace-Lorraine Under German Rule" (Holt); Bang's "Hurrah and Hallelujah" (Doran); F. A. Smith's "The Soul of Germany" (Doran); Hill's "The Rebuilding of Europe" (Century); Ruth Putnam's "Alsace and Lorraine" (Putnams).

C. Topic: Should Austria-Hungary be Dissolved?

Reference: Pages 22–24, 28.

Questions:

1. What information do you gather about the population of Austria-Hungary from Mr. de Lanux's article? 2. Mr. de Lanux says that "each faction of the Austrian Empire wants autonomy and works for it." Why don't these various factions get autonomy? 3. According to this article, what is Germany's relation to Austria-Hungary? What is Germany's object of interest in Austria-Hungary? 4. What recommendations would you make to Austria-Hungary and to the factions there? 5. This article suggests the problem of nationality in history. What is that problem? How would you solve it? 6. Do you think Austria-Hungary should be dissolved? Discuss your reasons. 7. Books much worth while reading on this topic are Hazen's "Europe Since 1915" (Holt)—see index; "Seven Years in Vienna" (Houghton Mifflin)—author's name not given; Rose's "Nationality in Modern History" (Macmillan); Laski's "The Problem of Sovereignty" (Yale University Press).

II—LOCAL AFFAIRS

Topic: Boston Comes Across.

Reference: Pages 15–17.

Questions:

1. What reasons does Professor Munro assign for the defeat of Mayor Curley? 2. Should a mayor be defeated for such reasons? Discuss. 3. Do you think it is possible for a mayor to conduct his administration in a wholly non-partisan spirit? Tell why or why not. 4. Compare the merits of the mayor-council form, the commission form, and the city-manager form of municipal government. Which form would you advocate for your city? Give several reasons. 5. Read liberally in three very useful books: "The City the Hope of Democracy," by F. C. Howe (Scribners); "American Municipal Progress," by C. Zueblin (Macmillan); "The Government of American Cities," by W. B. Munro (Macmillan).

III—PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION

(These propositions are suggested directly or indirectly by the subject-matter of The Outlook, but not discussed in it.)

1. It is impossible to rid American cities of corruption. 2. Democracy is government by argument. 3. The disposition of Alsace-Lorraine is a world question.

IV—VOCABULARY BUILDING

(All of the following words and expressions are found in The Outlook for January 2, 1918. Both before and after looking them up in the dictionary or elsewhere, give their meaning *in your own words*. The figures in parentheses refer to pages on which the words may be found.)

Knouting, samovars, a mob, the Bolsheviki (17); plebiscite, "Squatter Sovereignty" (11), pneumatic, humor, afflatus (20), sentiment, infinity, flatulency, pulchritude (21); neophyte, electorate, vernacular (16).

A booklet suggesting methods of using the Weekly Outline of Current History will be sent on application

THE NEW BOOKS

This department will include descriptive notes, with or without brief comments, about books received by The Outlook. Many of the important books will have more extended and critical treatment later

FICTION

Wolf-Cub (The): A Novel of Spain. By Patrick and Terence Casey. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.40.

A story of romance and adventure, with the abduction of a hidalgo's daughter by a highwayman and bandolero as its chief incident.

HISTORY, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND POLITICS

England's Debt to India. By Lajpat Rai. B. W. Huebsch, New York. $2.

This author's manner is as eloquent as his matter is interesting. Readers may not agree with all his conclusions, but they will, we are sure, appreciate the wealth of information given concerning the economic conditions in India. It has been said that this largest part of the British Empire both in area and population will be the first to feel the levy in recompensing that Empire for its losses in the present war, and a discussion of this forms a feature of the book. We are also glad that it includes, as appropriate to an economic survey, a chapter on education and literacy. After perusing the volume readers will not be surprised that the author's panacea for Indian ills, economic and political, is found in home rule, self-government, and autonomy.

Universal Training for Citizenship and Public Service. By William H. Allen. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

The somewhat arid title of this book scarcely suggests to the reader its really inspiring appeal. Replete with the latest ideas as to civic work, its discussion of the problems of citizenship that confront us now, and will confront us after the war, is terse, vigorous, and helpful to a high degree. Every public-spirited man and woman will find the book worth reading.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS

Little Taylor of the Winding Way (The). By Gertrude Crownfield. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York. 60c.

A pretty, fanciful story for little children.

BIOGRAPHY

Life and Letters of the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke. By Principal Lawrence Pearsall Jacks. 2 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $4.75.

An adequate and appreciative account of the life of the famous English clergyman and author who is best known for his fine Life of Frederick W. Robertson.

Paul Jones: His Exploits in English Seas During 1778-1780. Contemporary Accounts Collected from English Newspapers, with a Complete Bibliography. By Don C. Seitz. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3.50.

Makers of Our History. By John T. Faris. Illustrated. Ginn & Co., Boston. 80c.

Portraits and Backgrounds. by Evangeline Wilbour Blashfield. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Frenzied Fiction. By Stephen Leacock. The John Lane Company, New York. $1.25.

This is Leacock at his best, and this best is better than others of his recent books. The fun is sly and penetrating; the burlesque quality is sustained; the writing is that of a humorist, not that of a mere joke-smith.

History of American Journalism. By James Melvin Lee. Illustrated. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $3.50.

A book of prime importance to all newspaper men who take an intelligent interest in their profession, of decided interest to the general reader on account of its lively style, and of real value to the student of

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The New Books (Continued)

American life because of its comprehensiveness and its presentation of the ethics as well as the annals of its subject.

Patriotism—National and International. By Sir Charles Waldstein. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Book of New York (The). By Robert Shackleton. Illustrated. The Penn Publishing Company, Philadelphia. $2.50.

Rather desultory, but always agreeable in its talk about associations, historical incidents, ancient houses, superstitions of the ignorant population, childishness in municipal whims, modern growth, foreign districts, and other queer or famous aspects of New York.

Memories of Old Salem. Drawn from the Letters of a Great-Grandmother. By Mary Harrod Northend. Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. $4.

Miss Northend has done more than any author of whom we think to make the reader of our day familiar with certain features of old New England life, both by agreeable description and by excellent photographs. She is, as one may say, a specialist on Salem. This volume is eminently attractive, both in its physical and pictorial form and in the curious information about old times and old things in Salem.

Our Hawaii. By Charmian Kittredge London (Mrs. Jack London). Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.25.

"What does the average middle-aged American know of the amazing history of this amazing 'native' people now voting as American citizens?" Mrs. London asks, referring to the Hawaiians. Her book answers the question in vivid characterizations of the land and the people, interwoven with intimate revelations of the character of her husband, the well-known novelist. The charms of Hawaii staggered even "Jack's" descriptive powers. "Of all lands of joy and beauty under the sun . . ." he said as he left it—and could not finish his eulogy.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings. Vol. IX—**Mundas—Phrygians.** Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $7.

Religion and ethics being conterminous with human life from its lowest savagery to its highest civilization, one who opens for the first time this monumental work marvels at its wealth of information. All races, nations, tribes, and social groups, ancient and modern, tell the tale of their beliefs and practices. Even "Oahspe," a book-religion invented by an American dentist and followed by a tiny sect of "Faithists," is given its page. Art, biography, and history, the sciences and philosophies, contribute each its quota.

Great Love Stories of the Bible and Their Lessons for To-Day. By Billy Sunday. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.

In the Footsteps of St. Paul. By Francis E. Clark, D.D., LL.D. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.

This book is a boon to many unlikely to to have heard of such a masterpiece as Sir William Ramsay's "Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen." No scientific interest induced Dr. Clark to visit all the cities visited by Paul. His express purpose was to see how these look to-day, so as to reconstruct the physical background and scenery of Paul's labors. His narrative aims to awaken the vivid realism in which their storied past rose there in imagination, and with it the inspiring personality of the great Apostle, dauntless, heroic, benign, and very

All at the Cost of Two Eggs

Ten Big Dishes of Quaker Oats

Here are facts to ponder in the days of high food cost.

Two eggs contain—in calories—about the same nutrition as a dish of Quaker Oats. Yet two eggs cost as much as ten big dishes.

So with many foods. Here is what some cost, compared with Quaker Oats, per unit of food value:

Bacon and eggs costs 7 times as much as Quaker Oats. Ham and eggs 7 times as much. Round Steak 9 times as much. Chicken 20 times as much. Bread about twice as much.

The reasons are these: Oats are plentiful and cheap. They sell today around 60 cents per bushel.

They yield in food value 1810 calories per pound. That's considerably more than wheat.

Oats stand first among grain foods in flavor and nutrition. As energy food and food for growth, they have an age-old fame.

Serve bigger dishes. Make the whole breakfast on oats.

Mix Quaker Oats in your flour foods—for extra flavor, for lower cost, and to conserve our wheat.

Quaker Oats

The Supreme Oat Dainty

Never was oat food so important. And never did it mean so much to get this extra grade. Quaker Oats is made of queen oats only—just the rich, plump, flavory oats. We get but ten pounds from a bushel. Yet they cost no extra price. Ask for this brand and note what it adds in flavor—everywhere you use it.

12c and 30c per package in United States and Canada, except in far West and South where high freights may prohibit

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The New Books (Continued)

human. He writes especially for Bible students, preachers, Sunday-school teachers, and humble Christians.

WAR BOOKS

Inside the Russian Revolution. By Rheta Childe Dorr. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

"I went to Russia (in May, 1917) a Socialist by conviction, an ardent sympathizer with revolution. . . . I returned from Russia with the very clear conviction that the world will have to wait a while before it can establish any co-operative millenniums or before it can safely hand over the work of government to the man in the street." So says the author of this up-to-the-minute book. It furnishes most excellent reading for the host of half-baked reformers who imagine that the world can be created anew overnight, and deserves a wide circulation both among these and among readers who take a saner point of view.

EDUCATIONAL

Pattou's French-English Manual for the Use of Physicians, Nurses, Ambulance Drivers, and Workers in Civilian Relief. By E. E. Pattou. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.50.

Principles of Mental Hygiene (The). By William A. White, M.D. With an Introduction by Smith Ely Jelliffe, M.D., Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.

Re-Education. An Analysis of the Institutional System of the United States. By George Edward Barton, A.I.A. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.

SCIENCE

Applied Motion Study. A Collection of Papers on the Efficient Method to Industrial Preparedness. By Frank B. Gilbreth and L. M. Gilbreth, Ph.D. The Sturgis & Walton Company, New York. $1.50.

Short History of Science (A). By W. T. Sedgwick and H. W. Tyler. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.

A vast subject is treated with breadth of view and keenness of insight in this book. It strikes a happy balance between the technical works that are meant for the special student and the works that deal so largely with abstract theories that they fail to grip the general reader. A good example of the work of specialists who know how to make their subject interesting to non-specialists.

MISCELLANEOUS

Effective Public Speaking. The Essentials of Extempore Speaking and of Gesture. By Joseph A. Mosher, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

Furniture of the Olden Time. By Frances Clary Morse. Illustrated. New Edition. The Macmillan Company, New York. $6.

A new edition of a standard work that has made itself almost indispensable to people of taste in matters of household equipment. Many new illustrations are included, and there is a new chapter about mantels, doorways, and stairs. This is a book to make the reader feel proud of the workers and workmanship of the old days.

Surgical Operations on President Cleveland in 1893 (The). By William W. Keen, M.D., LL.D. George W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia.

Your War Taxes. By J. Frederick Essary. Introduction by Honorable F. M. Simmons. Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. $1.

This is a discussion and interpretation of the new War and Income Tax Law. The author had the advantage of advice and assistance in its preparation from the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McAdoo. The law is published in full (it fills seventy-five pages of the book), and in not much more space the author tells the layman in plain language just how it affects him and what it means.

PLAYING THE WAR GAME

BY LOWELL MASON

He is one of a hundred million
Who are learning how to fight.
He doesn't pretend to know the game,
So he's studying day and night.

He isn't conceited of winning—
The game is all new to him;
But he's cool and he's keen and he's clever,
And he's strong and he's full of vim.

He's brave, and he doesn't mind dying,
He's willing to sacrifice all;
But his sight is too clear for him simply to "cheer"
And then rush out to battle and fall.

Yet some people say he's a slacker,
And ask why he isn't in France.
But it's brains that will win, and he knows it,
And all that he asks is a chance!

So he's learning the game from the bottom;
He's learning each trick and each "stunt;"
And I surely do pity the Germans
When this fellow gets to the front.

He is one of a hundred million
Who are learning how to fight.
He doesn't pretend to know the game,
But he's studying day and night.

NEW YORK—THE CITY OF CONTRASTS

We quote from Robert Shackleton's "The Book of New York," just published:

No part of the world is more busy, and at the same time more thronged, than the district of lower Broadway and Wall Street and the wholesale district during the day; and nowhere in the world is there a business district so deserted, so silent, so without life except for the solitary and infrequent policeman, as the mile after mile of this district at night. Nowhere in the world are there such lofty business structures and apartment-houses, yet these are bordered and interspersed with buildings of ordinary height; there are two-story buildings that have held their own while business has mounted to the sky beside them, and there are even vacant lots. There are the most expensive specialists in medicine and surgery, and there are hospitals with the most expensive and modern equipment where surgical and medical aid is given free.

There is the greatest and most reckless spending in the world, and there is the most pinching economy. You may stand beside some wealthy woman who negligently orders furs or gowns costing thousands, and in a few minutes may be in a shop where you will hear a poor child, who is buying a loaf of stale bread and a penny's worth of cheese, say to the clerk, "Mother wants you to cut it with the ham knife to give it a hammy taste." . . .

While the number increases of those who with difficulty find ways to spend their money, the number also increases of those with no money to spend: I have seen the policeman, after midnight, moving stolidly from park bench to park bench, effectually rousing the homeless sleepers by blows upon their feet; I have seen the derelicts disappear doubtfully into the darkness; one cold morning at City Hall Park I saw two poor fellows, pathetically anxious to keep up their appearance, wash themselves at the fountain, wipe themselves with grimy handkerchiefs, and then step into the post-office to dry the handkerchiefs on a radiator in the corridor. And I have heard rich New Yorkers boast offensively of their riches. . . .

I have seen an archbishop of New York, at his silver jubilee, the central figure of a magnificent service in the Cathedral, with hundreds of the priesthood and of churchly dignitaries of this and other cities in his train, with pomp of silk and purple and cloth of gold, with the sounding of great bells and the triumphant pealing of the organ and the sound of singing voices and the music of the horns and cymbals and strings of a great orchestra, and with a mighty congregation packing every inch of the edifice; and I have seen the same archbishop conducting a service in the chapel on Blackwell's Island, looking with tears in his eyes at the massed array of paupers and prisoners and crippled and blind, but dressed in his splendid robes, in cope and surplice and stole of cloth of gold, and with a mighty golden miter upon his head, and in his hand a golden crozier, to show that High Mass on Blackwell's was the same as on Fifth Avenue. Instead of great reverberant bells, a little bell in a little green-slatted cupola rang forth its summons; instead of splendid organ and orchestra and choir, there were a crippled player at an old melodeon, and a choir of four blind and crippled derelicts; and I noticed that the tin vessels, just inside of the entrance, for the holy water were soon dipped empty, and it was pitiful to see the late comers groping eagerly in the dry vessels for the water which they could not find.

COUNSEL TO A YOUNG SOLDIER

The letter which follows was written by Mr. Thomas E. Clarke, until recently General Superintendent of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railroad and now Assistant to President Truesdale. Mr. Clarke served for two years in the Civil War, and saw hard fighting in Tennessee, Georgia, and the Carolinas. Toward the close of the war he was attached to General Sherman's staff. His one regret to-day is that he cannot go out to fight at the side of his young relative for the freedom and the principles of democracy.

The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company, Office of Assistant to President.
T. E. Clarke,
Assistant to President.

Scranton, Pa., August 15, 1917.

My dear ——:

I believe that you will do your bit by a complete and conscientious performance of duty; my thoughts and my prayers shall be with you constantly, but I do not mean by this that the occupation of soldier places you in greater need of divine protection than obtains with all mankind. "Preparedness" is the saving word. Warfare is surrounded by many other dangers than those of the firing line, and indomitable courage is no less a requisite for safe emergence. To be brief and plain, I will merely cite my own experience. As you know, I entered the service when four or five years younger than your age to-day, and correspondingly immature. My youth may have been my safeguard, but my inclinations, which I believe I see personified in you, were to avoid all the habits which cause social, mental, and physical depravity, namely: gambling, use of intoxicants, profanity, obscenity, vulgarity. And yet I would not have you imagine that my associates were of low degree nor that the service is, on the whole, degrading. On the contrary, I believe it compares favorably with our educational institutions in forming character, and, owing to peculiarity in discipline, regularity, seriousness, and the cosmopolitanism of their formations, I believe there is more real uplifting of men in

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Counsel to a Young Soldier (Continued)

the army and navy than obtains in any other one service or occupation, all things considered.

I realize that there is but very little, if any, real need of admonishing you, but I am very fond of you and more than proud of your splendid character and mentality, so much of which is due to your own determined perseverance. I feel quite sure of your self-reliance and good purposes while in the service, and I trust that the service will feel itself honored in whatever honors it may confer upon you.

At the conclusion of this most unwarranted of all wars in the world's history, but to be the last for all time to come, sounding as it does the knell of autocracy and militarism, you will be welcomed back to civil life possessing the same fortitude for the future that you now have in giving serviceable loyalty to your country's cause.

Just one thought more. Don't abuse your mind with imaginary dangers. Upon first hearing the roar of battle (remember this) there may be one here and there who fears for his soul, but men like you who have no cause for such fear will feel a thrill of patriotism and courage never dreamed of. Of course we do not know whether you will experience this on foreign soil or if at all, but there is an indescribable fascination about it. I am glad that you were already a volunteer, prepared for service when your country's call was made, and that you have no dependents to worry about, so that you may go with your mind freely on your "business," unfettered and unwearied. . . .

Of course I do not mean that you will not think of home and friends, but try not to think of your loved ones as depressed in spirit; for there is too much at stake in this war, and as the fact becomes more apparent it will ameliorate their distress and increase their pride.

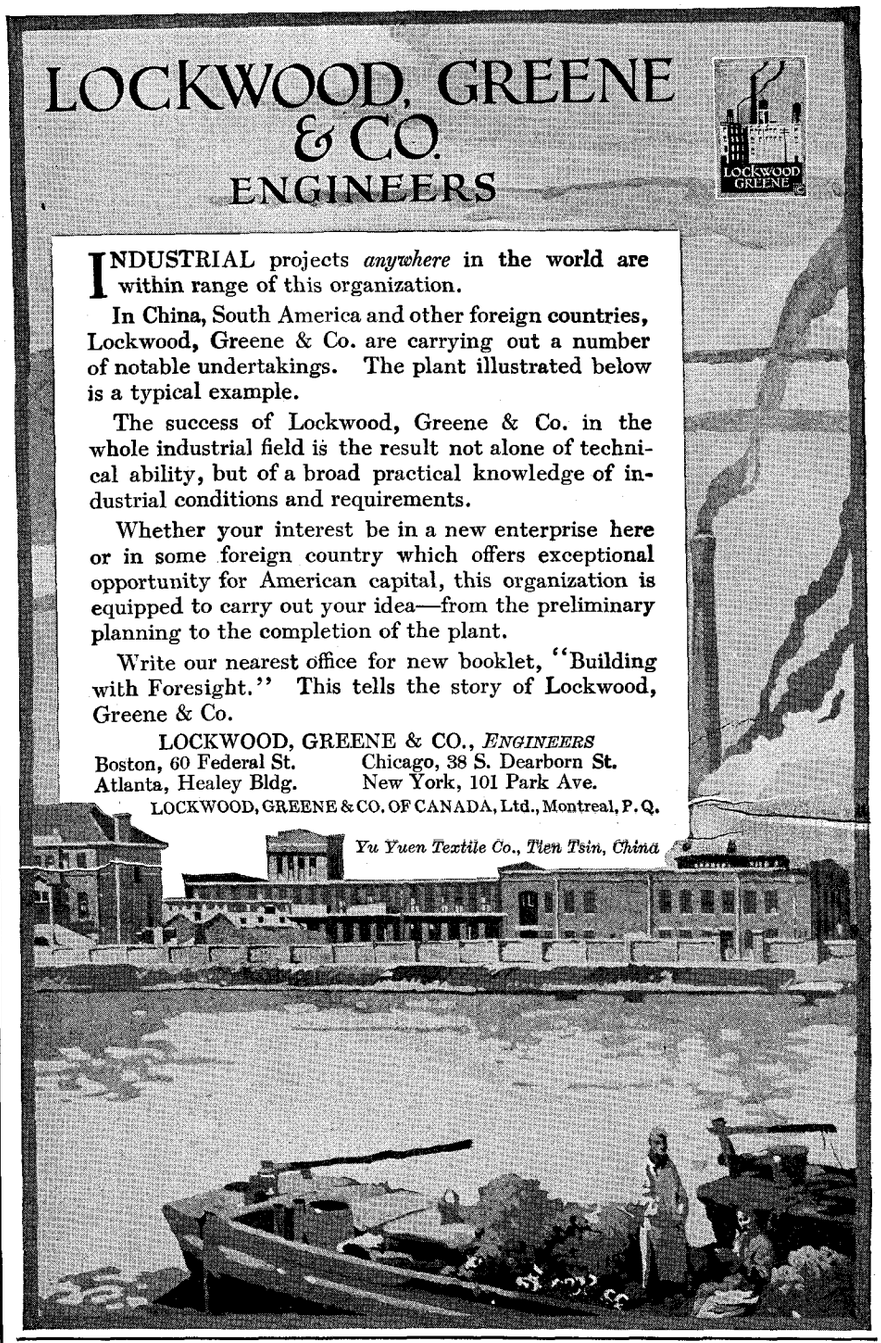
I have written at greater length than I intended, but I hope that what I have here written may be very satisfying to you and give you new and enduring inspiration, with increased confidence in the need and justice of the United States entering into this war for democracy and perpetual peace, as our President has so wisely deemed it our duty to do—to say nothing of our defense.

I am, most affectionately,
(Signed) T. E. CLARKE.

HOW THEY MAKE WAR IN MESOPOTAMIA

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY A BRITISH AVIATOR

Last week I had an interesting experience. I motored right up on to No Man's Land, then got out and examined our front-line trenches, walking along the parapet. It was about the middle of the forenoon. Imagine doing a thing like that in France! Why, here we even put up rifle butts out there for target practice. And we always hold our field days out there, often miles out. Really we carry on war out here on most sane principles. In the first place, we keep far enough away so that we cannot hurt one another. And we don't even do any bombing. Old Johnnie Turk comes and sits over our airdrome every Sunday morning at eleven (that's how we can always tell Sunday here), but he never drops a pill. And we aren't in the least inclined to start the bloody work. The same with poison gas and *flamenwefer*. They use far more common sense here than they do in France!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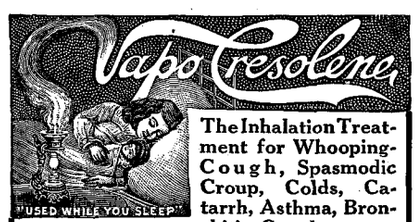

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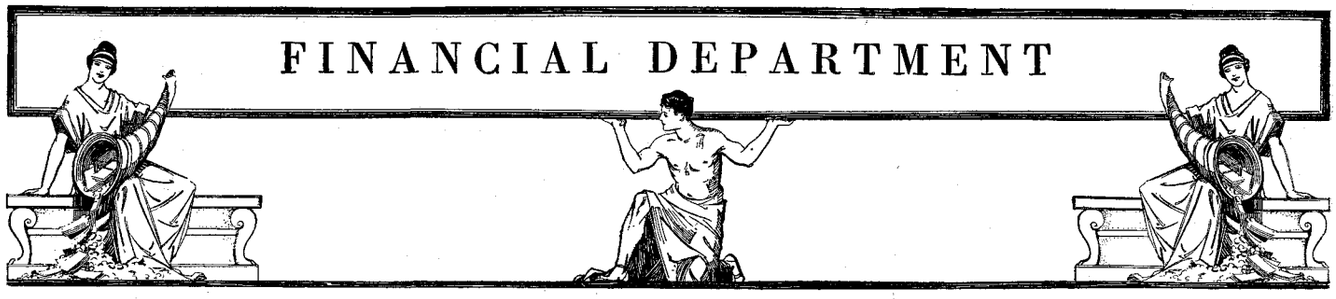

All legitimate questions from Outlook readers about investment securities will be answered either by personal letter or in these pages. The Outlook cannot, of course, undertake to guarantee against loss resulting from any specific investment. Therefore it will not *advise* the purchase of any specific security. But it will give to inquirers facts of record or information resulting from expert investigation, leaving the responsibility for final decision to the investor. And it will admit to its pages only those financial advertisements which after thorough expert scrutiny are believed to be worthy of confidence. All letters of inquiry regarding investment securities should be addressed to

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GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND RAILWAY FINANCE

IN The Outlook of December 12, answering inquiries from many readers as to the wisdom of purchasing standard railway shares, we gave a list of twelve such shares that could be purchased for $1,000 at the prices of December 1. It was pointed out that these shares would probably sell lower, but nevertheless were cheap and ought to appeal to the investor willing to take a considerable speculative risk. In commenting on the financial situation of the carriers, we said:

> This great investment in rail transportation—a twelfth of our National wealth—is so large a part of the foundation of our National finance and National security that its safeguarding at a time like this becomes a matter of vital National concern. The Government by reason of its control of railway rates under the Act to Regulate Commerce, its control of railway labor under the decision of the Supreme Court in the Adamson Act case, its control of commodity prices under the emergency authority granted the President, and its control of the money market through the Treasury Department, holds the railways in the hollow of its hand.
>
> Adequate inland transport is as necessary to-day as an army in the trenches; sound railway credit is the foundation of war finance. The Government has complete power to maintain both, and there is every reason to believe that it will maintain them.
>
> If this reasoning is sound, then the securities of American railways, now selling at the lowest prices in many years, present an attractive opportunity to the investor who is willing to assume a considerable risk in the hope of making a considerable profit.

A fortnight later the Government, as a war measure, took over the operation of the railways of the country, and the President appointed as Director-General of Railways the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. William Gibbs McAdoo. The President in his proclamation recommended that the Government guarantee to the carriers a net operating income equal to the average of the three years ended June 30, 1917. If Congress puts the President's plan into law, the apparent result will be to provide during the war the same rates of interest and dividends that the carriers were paying in 1917. It may be expected, therefore, that the standard railway shares listed in The Outlook will continue paying their regular dividends.

Because of uncertainty as to what terms the Government will propose in taking over the railways, their securities continued to decline during December, and on the day after Christmas they touched the lowest prices of the year. The President's proclamation was issued that evening, and on the following morning there was an extraordinary rise in the market. The twelve different shares that could be purchased at the beginning of December for $1,000 declined to $910 on December 26 and advanced to $1,031 following the announcement from Washington. At the closing prices of the year these twelve shares could be purchased for $1,015.

We give the list of companies, with the prices on December 1, December 26, and December 29:

	Dec. 1	Dec. 26.	Dec. 29.
Atchison	$83	$75⅞	$84¾
St. Paul preferred	73	62½	77¼
Chesapeake and Ohio	47	42⅛	51¼
Great Northern	91	80⅛	89⅞
Illinois Central	95	86½	93
Louisville and Nashville	118	106	112
New York Central	69	63	71¼
Norfolk and Western	103	96	104⅝
Northern Pacific	84	75¾	86
Pennsylvania	45	42	47
Southern Pacific	81	77	83¾
Union Pacific	111	102¾	114
Totals	$1,000	$910	$1,015

While it is too early to state definitely the final form of guarantee of earnings that Congress will approve, it may be assumed for the present that each company will be entitled to receive the average net operating income as outlined by the President. This is very similar to the plan followed in England from the beginning of the war.

But investors who now purchase railway securities on the strength of the proposed Government guarantee must take into consideration the earning power of these companies after the war. It may be that the temporary war measure will become a permanent method of controlling the railways. If the Government does retain permanent control of the railways, then the question naturally arises as to what will be the after-war bargain with the security-holders. It might be better or worse than the proposed war guarantee. This investors must bear in mind.

But if after the war the Government turns these properties back to their owners to be operated under pre-war conditions, what will be the earning power of the individual companies and what will be the market worth of their securities? In these columns we have more than once expressed the opinion that the Government, through its great power of regulation, will see to it that railway property and railway credit are maintained in the future. But there are some uncertainties that investors must take account of.

The most perplexing problem, in our opinion, is that of labor. The carriers are taken over by the Government with a staff of more than 1,600,000 employees. On the trains there are 300,000 engineers, firemen, conductors, and trainmen—represented by the four railway Brotherhoods. In addition there are 1,300,000 other employees—despatchers, telegraphers, machinists, carpenters, accountants, clerks, track workers, etc.

The 300,000 trainmen in 1917 received by Act of Congress an increase in wages amounting to about $60,000,000 a year. Toward the end of the year they presented demands for further increases in wages amounting to approximately forty per cent. One of the first problems before the Director-General of Railways is the settlement of the Brotherhood demands. The present pay-roll of the trainmen is about $450,000,000 a year, or an average of $1,500.

What, then, would happen to the 1,300,000 other employees? Their pay-roll now is $1,500,000,000 a year, or an average of $800. It would seem that these less well paid employees are in greater need of an advance in wages to meet the high cost of living than the well-paid trainmen. If the fifteen per cent bonus were granted the trainmen, it is plain that there would be an urgent demand from the other employees for a similar advance. This would raise their average from $800 to $920, and would increase their total pay-roll by nearly $160,000,000.

If the Government gives the railway workers a war bonus of as much as fifteen per cent, the pay-roll will be increased by upwards of $225,000,000 for the period of the war. With Government guarantees of net earnings, such a large increase in the labor cost would have to be met in considerable measure out of the Government Treasury. That this is not without precedent is seen by the English experience. Since England took over her railways there have been three

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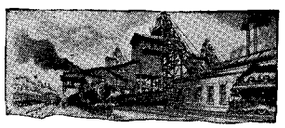

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Government Control and Railway Finance
(Continued)

successive war bonuses given to the railway workers, amounting to 15 shillings a week for each man. This is equivalent to about $190 a year. The same bonus for American railway workers would aggregate $300,000,000.

During the war the bonus to the English railway men is being paid by the Government, because the earnings of the companies are insufficient to meet this burden. If American railway workers receive a war bonus, the same method of meeting the cost would be followed here under the Government guarantee.

But what would happen after the war if these companies were turned back to their owners? If freight and passenger rates are not raised by the Government to take care of increased labor costs, the carriers after the war would find themselves burdened with very high operating costs and rates inadequate to meet them. A $300,000,000 increase in cost of labor would be equivalent to the total amount now paid in dividends by all American railways. It must be plain, therefore, that if the new Director-General of Railways does not provide for higher operating costs during the war by raising railway rates, the carriers after the war will find themselves in a very precarious condition, unless, as many experts believe it will, the present Government operation of railways becomes permanent.

It might be argued that large advances in wages given as a war bonus to meet the high cost of living could be taken away after the war when living costs came down again. But any one who has studied the recent history of railway labor can realize what a difficult problem the carriers would have to face if they attempted after the war to reduce wages to a pre-war basis.

The after-war values of railway shares, therefore, are in the melting-pot. The only assurance investors have is the confidence that the Government—whether it takes over the railways permanently or turns them back to their shareholders—will deal fairly with the owners and maintain railway credit as a matter of National safety.

Some politicians and publicists believe that any large increases in the cost of labor and material under Government operation during the war will be absorbed by the operating economies that will result from unified management. But no assurance for this can be found in the history of government control of railways in foreign countries. The universal experience has been that government control is not as economical as it is in the best privately managed railways. But the additional expense of Government railways, which would be met by taxation, may be justified by the wider and more uniform service rendered the public.

The big item in railway operation is labor. Nearly two-thirds of the cost of operation is the pay-roll, and Government operation of public utilities here and abroad almost invariably increases the labor cost. When the wages of 1,600,000 workers are fixed by a single Government authority, it is plain that the political management of both the employees and the finances of the railways must be of the highest character. Political and partisan bureaucracy must not be tolerated. Investors, in forming their judgment of the present value of railway securities, must bear this in mind, and must for their own protection, if for no higher motive, do their share in insisting upon clean and efficient political administration.

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Free Booklets for Investors

Many of the investment bankers publish booklets and literature for the information of prospective investors. The following is a list of booklets which may be obtained by writing to the investment houses issuing them, mentioning The Outlook, or by writing direct to the Financial Editor of The Outlook:

"Bond Topics"—Issue No. O-200. A. H. Bickmore & Co., 111 Broadway, New York.

The Kansas Oil Fields. A. D. Converse & Co., 5 Nassau St., New York.

Danforth Farm Mortgages—List No. 58. A. G. Danforth & Co., Washington, Ill.

"A Buyer's Guide to Good Investment." Federal Bond & Mortgage Co., 90 L Griswold St., Detroit, Mich.

Wisconsin Dairy Farm Mortgages—Booklet 12. Markham & May Company, Milwaukee, Wis.

First Mortgage Real Estate Serial Notes. Investment List No. 104. Mercantile Trust Company, Saint Louis.

"Partial Payment Suggestions"—Circular M-48. John Muir & Co., 61 Broadway, New York.

Income Tax Primer, AB-2000. National City Company, National City Bank Building, New York.

First Mortgage Real Estate Bonds—Circular No. 998Z. Peabody, Houghteling & Co., 10 South La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

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THE POWER OF THE PEANUT

BY ROBERT H. MOULTON

The boll-weevil, as a blessing in disguise, has redeemed the South from the disgrace of being a one-crop country. Cotton is no longer autocrat. He has been dethroned by the weevil, and must now take his place as merely one of a democracy, or perhaps an oligarchy, of crops, among which the once humble peanut is rising to unwonted prominence.

In 1908 we raised twelve million dollars' worth of peanuts. A conservative valuation of this year's crop is sixty million dollars. Texas alone has two hundred thousand acres. What is to be done with all these millions of bushels? Surely they are not all to be sold on the street corners to our boys for five cents a bag! By no means. In the first place, the product is of high food value—higher even than wheat. The oil is a better lard substitute than cottonseed oil. It brings a higher price per gallon, and can be made in the very same mills by the same machinery that used to turn out cottonseed oil.

And who would ever think of a peanut in connection with our munition plants? They seem as far apart as the North and South Poles. Yet the peanut, in the shape of nitroglycerine, may sleep in the submarine torpedo which is to destroy a great battleship, or it may send a half-ton projectile flying forth from the mouth of a gun.

We now find that the meal mixed with white flour makes a palatable and highly nutritious bread, and that it may be used for crackers and cakes. Peanut butter can take the place of cow's butter; and peanut meal, which is a by-product of the oil, makes the best of stock food.

In addition to the direct profits, the peanuts leave the land better off than when they were planted. For, like many of their cousins in the bean family, they gather and deposit nitrogen in the soil.

In 1914 the United States imported 44,549,789 pounds of peanuts and 1,332,108 gallons of peanut oil from Marseilles, Delft, Hamburg, and other ports. The nuts brought $1,899,237, and the oil, which was valued at $915,939, went mostly into the manufacture of butterine and other lard substitutes.

On the strength of these things the mill men experimented with peanuts. The results were so successful that the acreage in Texas increased more than 1,000 per cent from 1915 to 1916. In that State the peanuts and cotton, acre for acre, as far as the value of the crops is concerned, are now running neck and neck, with the chances in favor of the peanut. The experimenters are raising the latter on the demonstration farms and are producing better results every season.

So surprising has been the success of the experiments that the planters have begun to look for the dark side of the silver lining. The price of peanut products has gone up with all its companion foodstuffs. Will it come crashing down at the end of the war? How much danger is there from over-production?

According to one of our peanut experts, there is little danger of surfeiting the world with peanut oil and cake, because the food value is such that there is a universal market for them. The South abounds in sandy soil that will produce little cotton or grain. If the peanut could submit specifications, it would ask for just such soil. Vast tracts where pine forests have stood may be made useful and valuable by planting them with peanuts. The cottonseed mills have a capacity far beyond the available supply of their raw material, and have therefore lain with cold furnaces for a large part of the year. But now that the machinery of these mills, with slight adjustments that cost very little, can be turned into peanut-oil plants as they stand, they will naturally welcome a new industry that will extend figures on the credit side of the ledger.

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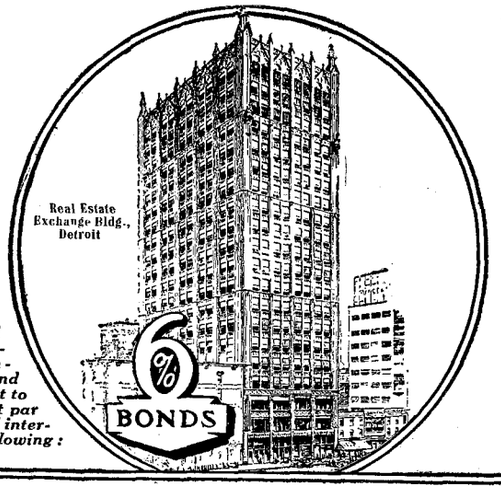
During the past year the Financial Editor of The Outlook has helped hundreds of Outlook readers intelligently to solve their particular investment problems. Perhaps you are contemplating a shifting of your present holdings or have fresh funds to invest. In either case we shall be glad to give you specific information on any securities in which you may be interested. This service is entirely free to Outlook readers.

The Outlook Financial Department



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50,000	5 years	Nov. 22, 1922	500— 1000
50,000	6 years	Nov. 22, 1923	500— 1000
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